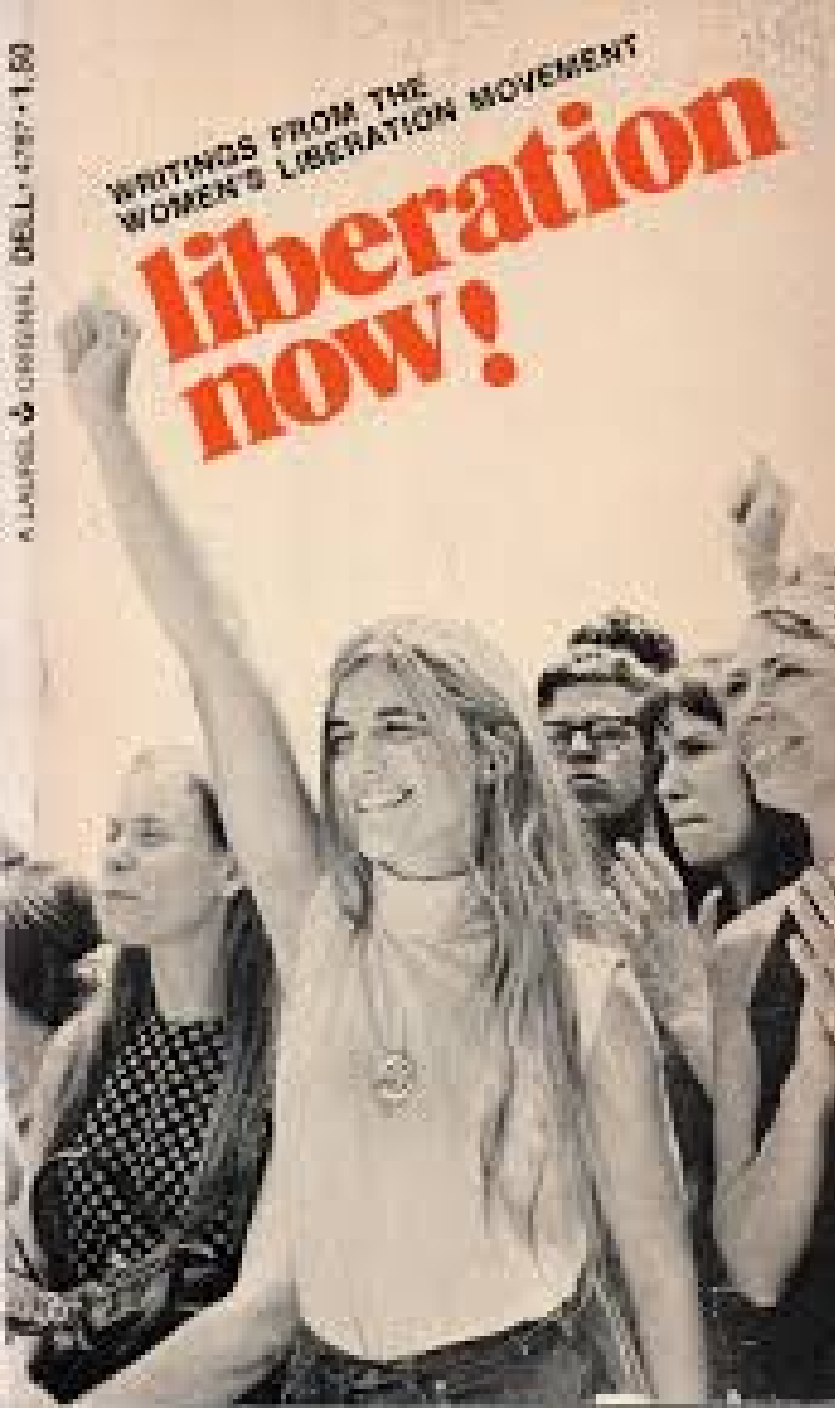
A LAUREL-EDITION DELL 4787 1.50

WRITINGS FROM THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

liberation now!



B

ILLINOIS

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

PRODUCTION NOTE

University of Illinois at
Urbana-Champaign Library
Brittle Books Project, 2015.

COPYRIGHT NOTIFICATION

In Copyright.

Reproduced according to U.S. copyright law USC 17 section 107.
Contact dcc@library.uiuc.edu for more information.

This digital copy was made from the printed version held
by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign.
It was made in compliance with copyright law.

Prepared for the Brittle Books Project,
Preservation Department, Main Library,
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
by

Northern Micrographics
Brookhaven Bindery
La Crosse, Wisconsin

2015

LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAICN

301.4242
L615

LIBERATION NOW! represents an attempt to record as completely as possible the thoughts and politics of the women's liberation movement. The selections, culled from the growing number of women's lib underground publications as well as from the Establishment press, represent the spectrum of opinion within the movement. The subjects covered range from job discrimination to sexuality, from day care to revolution abroad, from housework to the class divisions in our society. The writers, most of whom are activists in the movement, in some way represent a part of the truth about women's experience and speak out for the extension of basic human rights to women everywhere.

LIBERATION

NOW!

Writings from the Women's Liberation Movement

I

LAUREL EDITION

Published by

Dell Publishing Co., Inc.

750 Third Avenue

New York, New York 10017

Copyright © 1971 by Deborah Babcox and Madeline Belkin

All rights reserved. No part of this book may

be reproduced in any form or by any means without

the prior written permission of the Publisher,

excepting brief quotes used in connection with

reviews written specifically for inclusion

in a magazine or newspaper.

Laurel ® TM 674623, Dell Publishing Co., Inc.

Printed in the United States of America
First printing—June 1971

Acknowledgments

why women's liberation? by Marlene Dixon: Copyright Ramparts Magazine, Inc., 1969. By permission of the editors.
the next great moment in history is ours by Vivian Gornick: Reprinted by permission of The Village Voice. Copyright by The Village Voice, Inc. 1969.

cutting loose by Sally Kempton: Reprinted by permission of

Esquire magazine. © 1970 by Esquire, Inc.

what it would be like if women win by Gloria Steinem: Reprinted by permission from Time, The Weekly Newsmagazine; Copyright Time, Inc. 1970.

job discrimination and what women can do about it by Alice S. Rossi: Copyright © 1970 by the Atlantic Monthly Company, Boston, Massachusetts. Reprinted with permission.
metamorphosis into bureaucrat by Marge Piercy: Copyright © 1970, Marge Piercy, FOUR TELLING, Newbooks, The Crossings Press, Trumansberg, N. Y. Reprinted by permission of the author.

drowning in the steno pool by Madeline Belkin: Copyright © 1970 by Up From Under Magazine, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

pie in the sky by Gene Reece: Copyright © 1970 by Gene Reece. Reprinted by permission of Up From Under Magazine, Inc. and the author.

pages from a shop diary by Olga Domanski: Reprinted from Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices, published by News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Michigan 48207, January 1970.

the labor and suffrage movements: a view of working-class women in the 20th century by Susan Reverby. Copy-

right © 1971 by Susan Reverby. Reprinted by permission.
where is it written? by Judith Viorst: Reprinted by permission of The World Publishing Company from It's Hard to Be Hip Over Thirty . . . & Other Tragedies of Married Life by Judith Viorst. An NAL book. Copyright © 1968 by Judith Viorst.

the politics of housework by Redstockings. Copyright © 1969, Redstockings, P. O. Box 748, New York, N. Y. 10009.
the liberation of children by Deborah Babcox: Copyright © 1970 by Up From Under Magazine, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

on day care by Louise Gross and Phyllis MacEwan. From Women: A Journal of Liberation, 3028 Greenmount Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland 21218. Reprinted by permission.
the political economy of women's liberation (Excerpt) by Margaret Benston. Copyright © 1969 by Monthly Review, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

planned obsolescence: the middle-aged woman by Rose Gladstone: Copyright © 1970 by Up From Under Magazine, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

"in trouble" by Jane Harriman: Copyright © 1970 by The Atlantic Monthly Company, Boston, Massachusetts. Reprinted with permission.

marriage and love by Emma Goldman. Copyright 1917, Emma Goldman. Originally published by The Mother Earth Publishing Association.

storybook lives: growing up middle class by Ellen Maslow: Copyright © 1970 by Up From Under Magazine, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

to my white working-class sisters by Debby D'Amico: Copyright © 1970 by Up From Under Magazine, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

"freedom is something that all of us need" by Mabel Hobsen: Reprinted from Notes on Women's Liberation: We Speak in Many Voices, published by News & Letters, 1900 E. Jefferson, Detroit, Michigan, 48207, January 1970.

double jeopardy: to be black and female by Frances M. Beal: Copyright © 1969 by Frances M. Beal and SNCC Black Women's Liberation Committee.

colonized women: the chicana by Elizabeth Sutherland: From Viva La Raza. Copyright © 1969 by Enriqueta Longauex y Vasquez. All rights reserved by author.

a work of artifice by Marge Piercy: Copyright © 1970, Marge

Piercy. Reprinted by permission of the author.

conclusion from Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies by Margaret Mead: Reprinted by permission of William Morrow & Co., Inc. Copyright 1935, 1950, © 1965 by Margaret Mead.

facts and myths by Simone de Beauvoir: From The Second Sex by Simone de Beauvoir, trans, by H. M. Parskley. Copyright 1952 by Alfred A. Knopf, Inc. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

sex and semantics by Eve Merriam: Reprinted by permission of The World Publishing Company from After Nora Slammed the Door by Eve Merriam. Copyright © 1964 by Eve Merriam.

shakespeare's sister from A Room of One's Own by Virginia Woolf. Copyright 1929 by Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc.; renewed 1957 by Leonard Woolf. Reprinted by permission of the publisher.

women: the longest revolution (Excerpt) by Juliet Mitchell. Published originally by The New Left Review and reprinted by their permission.

psychology constructs the female, or the fantasy life of

the male psychologist by Naomi Weisstein: Copyright © 1970 by Naomi Weisstein. Reprinted by permission of the author.

the woman-identified woman by Radicalesbians: Copyright © 1970 by Radicalesbians. Used by permission. (Our awareness is due to all women who have struggled and learned in consciousness-raising groups but particularly to gay women whose pain has delineated and focused the Women's Movement on the nature and underlying causes of our oppression.)
the education of women by Florence Howe: Copyright © 1969 by Florence Howe. Reprinted by permission of Liberation magazine.

the myth of the vaginal orgasm by Anne Koedt: Copyright © 1970 by Anne Koedt. Reprinted from Notes from the Second Year, P. O. Box AA, New York, N. Y. 10011.

health care may be hazardous to your health by Alice Wolfson: Copyright © 1970 by Up From Under Magazine, Inc. Reprinted by permission.

liberation must also include the women of africa by Sonya Okoth: From Africa and the World. Reprinted by permission.

asian women in revolution by Charlotte Bunch-Weeks: From Women: A Journal of Liberation, 3028 Greenmount Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland 21218. Reprinted by permission.
on cuban women by Chris Camarano: Copyright © 1970 by Chris Camarano.

We have intentionally omitted our names from the cover of this anthology. It is our personal/political conviction that to single out only our own names for special notice would distort the fact that the book was made possible by the efforts of every woman whose work appears herein.

THE EDITORS

Contents

Introduction 1

I. Why Women's Liberation

Why Women's Liberation?

by marlene dixon 9

The Next Great Moment in History Is Ours

by vivian gornick 25

Cutting Loose by sally kempton 39

What It Would Be Like If Women Win
by gloria steinem 55

II. Discrimination on the Job

Job Discrimination and What Women Can

Do About It BY ALICE s. ROSSI 67

Metamorphosis into Bureaucrat

by marge piercy 76

Drowning in the Steno Pool

by madeline belkin 77

Pie in the Sky by gene reece 82

Pages from a Shop Diary

by olga domanski 88

The Labor and Suffrage Movements: A
View of Working-Class Women in the
20th Century by susan reverby 94

III. Inside the Family—and Outside

Where Is It Written? by judith viorst 107
The Politics of Housework

by redstockings 108

The Liberation of Children

by deborah babcox 116

On Day Care by louise gross and

phyllis mac ewan 123

Women and Economics

by charlotte perkins gilman

132

The Political Economy of Women's
Liberation by margaret benston

139

Planned Obsolescence: The Middle-Aged
Woman by rose Gladstone

145
150

"In Trouble" by jane harriman

Marriage and Love by emma Goldman 161

IV. Caste, Class and Race

Storybook Lives: Growing Up Middle

Class by ellen maslow 171

To My White Working-Class Sisters

by debby d'amico 177

"Freedom Is Something That All of Us

Need" by mabel hobsen 182

Double Jeopardy: To Be Black and

Female by Frances m. beal 185

Colonized Women: The Chicana

by elizabeth sutherland 197

V. Woman's Cultural Identity

A Work of Artifice by marge piercy 209
"Conclusion" from Sex and Temperament
in Three Primitive Societies
by margaret mead 210

"Facts and Myths" from The Second Sex

by simone de beauvoir 219

"Sex and Semantics" by eve merriam 231
"Shakespeare's Sister" from A Room of

One's Own by Virginia woolf 239

Women: The Longest Revolution

(excerpt) by juliet Mitchell 249

Psychology Constructs the Female, or
The Fantasy Life of the Male
Psychologist by naomi weisstein 267
The Woman-Identified Woman

by radicalesbians 287

The Education of Women

by florence howe 293

VI. Control of Our Bodies

The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm

by anne koedt

311

Health Care May Be Hazardous to Your
Health by alice wolfson 320
An Abortion Testimonial
by barbara susan 330
Vil. Sisters in Revolution
Liberation Must Also Include the Women
of Africa by sonya okoth 337
Asian Women in Revolution
by charlotte bunch-weeks 343
On Cuban Women by chris camarano 364
Bibliography 377
Compiled by deborah babcox and Madeline belkin

Introduction

History, as it has been traditionally written and taught, has been the story of Man, which literally has meant his story and never her story. The main thing we learn about woman is that she has always been kept in her place. We serve as the greatest footnotes in history and become worthy of mention mainly as wives or concubines of famous men, or as occasional aberrations, like Madame Curie or the whacky Suffragists.

The politics of women's liberation tells us that history must be redefined. The concept of leaders and heroes and/or heroines is, in our terms, antithetical to what real history should be. By our new definitions, our daily lives are historical occurrences of the utmost importance, and all of us are "experts" and "heroines." The majority of the authors in this anthology, therefore, will be unknown to the reader. Their qualifications are that they are women, women who represent the thoughts of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of other women. The issues dealt with herein, the feelings, personal testimonies—these are the history and politics of our movement. Still, there are thousands of women who will never find the time to write down their thoughts, some who have never learned to read or write, others who will never have the luxury to think introspectively about their lives, thousands who will never have the time to become involved in this movement. Women's history, to be complete, must find a way to chronicle all of these hitherto un-

recognized lives—it is this testimony, too, which must be passed on to future generations of women.

Also, the compilers of this anthology are not "names," we are—to offer brief identifications—two women, both active in the women's liberation movement for the last three years —both married, one from the working class, one from the middle class; one from the city, one from the country; one a teacher, the other formerly a secretary, and currently a student. We were chosen to do this book by fluke or privilege—one of us having known an editor at Dell. There are thousands of women who could have put this anthology together. Since we have done it, we hope we have succeeded in presenting an honest account of the movement, based on our own experiences in the movement and the experience of our own lives.

As in the case of many other women in the movement, our own redefinitions of history and politics began with experience in small groups, commonly called "consciousness-raising" groups. The main requisite for joining a consciousness-raising group is that there be at least two women —and a place to meet (each other's apartment, a storefront, on the job, etc.). Other requisites are that those raw feelings just beneath the surface are bared, those feelings that come pouring out during 2:00-a.m. feedings; running errands for the boss; beginning housework after a day's work outside the house; asking your husband's permission to buy something, since your work is unpaid labor and his is paid. Feeling isolated, alienated. Or just feeling that there is a possibility that it doesn't have to be this way, that things can change, that things can be better.

The small group demonstrates that our personal problems are political—that the quality of our lives is not determined by accident or biology, but by our social system. We learn that socialization begins the first day of our lives when we are covered with pink blankets in hospital nurseries. From that point on, regardless of simple logic which would tell us that some people are passive, some aggressive, some athletic, some not, we are told that we betray our sex when we resist being channeled toward domestic service and a lifetime of subordination. We are groomed to be martyrs and then despised for our martyrdom. We learn, too, that the demands of our economic system are for women to serve as

a reserve labor force. Not by accident were we called into the factory by droves during World War II, and not by accident were we sent back to home and hearth under a deluge of propaganda about motherhood after the war. The system simply cannot accommodate us, and so we are educated and conditioned to occupy unpaid roles that do not necessitate the creation of new places for us among wage earners. This system certainly does not fit our needs. A lifetime as a wife and mother may well be the natural choice of many women—what we are saying is that we are not given the choice.

The small group has served as a place where thousands of us have learned to support each other, where we have gained new feelings of self-respect and learned to speak about what we are thinking and to respect other women.

The recent deluge of propaganda about the women's movement has caused many women not yet involved to ask questions such as "Which faction means what?" "What is this movement anyway?" "Where did it all begin?"

No movement is ever the result of spontaneous combustion, but is preceded by centuries of pent-up rage and anger, an anger which finally explodes^ Apocryphal tales tell us that Eve was the second wife~Of^Adam—Lilith, the first, was traded in because she wasn't obedient enough. Perhaps that was the beginning. The current movement, however, is more directly traceable to women in the civil-rights movement and SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) who developed, through political experience, the degree of consciousness and militancy necessary to challenge male supremacy. The first position paper on women in the New Left was written in 1964 by Ruby Doris Smith Robinson, a founder of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee). Not much attention was paid to her paper, and she was generally ridiculed. One year later, Casey Hayden and Mary King, two white SNCC women, again raised the woman question in Studies on the Left. Small groups of women within the movement began to form. In 1966, at an SDS convention, women demanded that the subject of women's liberation be dealt with in a resolution. The response was a barrage of insults and tomatoes.

At about the same time, the National Organization for Women (NOW) was formed. One of its main founders

and most vocal leaders was Betty Friedan, author of The Feminine Mystique. Most of the women in NOW, like Betty Friedan, are white, middle class or upper middle class, and professional. From the outset the politics of NOW have been reformist, aiming to integrate women into the mainstream of American society. Radical women feel an analysis of our economic system shows that sex, race and class discrimination are necessary to maintain the control over wealth and resources by the ruling classes and that the role of women will not basically change until there is a radical reorganization of power in America. This view differs from NOW's reformism in that we believe that power will not voluntarily be relinquished by those who hold it and that only revolution will accomplish this end.

A further difference is that NOW is run hierarchically, with elected officers (some are men), and has men in its membership. There are few ways the structure can encourage those women who haven't verbal facilities and talents to develop those skills. The very nature of bureaucratic leadership has always prohibited that kind of development in the rank and file.

Radical women in the women's liberation movement work in small leaderless collectives and place special emphasis on fighting bureaucracy and authoritarianism. By an equal sharing of knowledge and skills, we break down inequalities and destructive competition. When you feel least equipped to do something (such as accepting a speaking engagement), then you are usually encouraged to do it. Secretarial duties are rotated with each meeting, so no one person has to do all the drudge work. This is a microcosm of the kind of future society we would like to see, one which would be run collectively for the maximum benefit of the many and not the few, one which would encourage the development of all the people, and not just the select few.

But to describe the movement as being divided only by differences between radical and reform politics, is simplistic. Within NOW there are many individual women who agree with much of what radical women say; within radical collectives there are women who agree with many of the things NOW women say. Clearly, however, what we are all saying is that—whatever our specific needs are—the system is not accommodating us. The movement's factions are not warring camps, and the movement cannot be understood in

that way. All of us, despite our differences, are constantly growing and trying to understand each other's oppression, be it as working-class women, black or brown women, gay women, or middle-class women. We are, by struggling, finding new ways to listen to each other, new ways of caring about each other, and it is this that gives us hope of having a movement, finally, which will provide for all of our needs.

Radical women also see today's movement as part of a worldwide struggle for liberation. We identify with revolutionary sisters in Asia, Africa and Latin America. We have come to understand that our own lives have been stunted not because we are inferior people, but by desigfi of our economic system, and that has helped us to understand the relationship of colonized people to an imperialist power. We feel that real liberation will never be possible for us until liberation for all people is possible.

We hope that this book will help to create, among all women, a feeling of sisterhood and solidarity and a deep conviction about what our place in history must be. We have already begun to extract a definition of Womankind from Mankind, and now we must fight to make it Humankind.

THE EDITORS

1. Why Women's Liberation?

Why Women's Liberation?

MARLENE DIXON

•JC-

The 1960s has been a decade of liberation; women have been swept up by that ferment along with blacks, Latins, American Indians and poor whites^the whole soft underbelly of this society. As each oppressed group in turn discovered the nature of its oppression in American society, so women have discovered that they too thirst for free and fully human lives.1 The result has been the growth of a new women's movement, whose base encompasses poor black and poor white women on relief, working women exploited in the labor force, middle-class women incarcerated in the split-level dream house, college girls awakening to the fact that sexiness is not the crowning achievement in life, and movement women who have discovered that in a freedom movement they themselves are not free. In less than four years women have created a variety of organizations, from the nationally based middle-class National Organization of Women (NOW) to local radical and radical feminist groups in every major city in North America. The new movement includes caucuses within nearly every New Left group and within most professional associations in the social sciences. Ranging in politics from reform to revolution, it has produced critiques of almost every segment of American society and constructed an ideology that rejects every hallowed cultural assumption about the nature and role of women.

As is typical of a young movement, much of its growth has been underground. The papers and manifestos written and circulated would surely comprise two very large volumes if published, but this literature is almost unknown outside of women's liberation. Nevertheless, where even a year ago organizing was slow and painful, with small cells

of six or ten women, high turnover, and an uphill struggle against fear and resistance^1' fn 1969 all that has changed. Groups are growing up everywhere with women eager to hear a hard line, to articulate and express their own rage and bitterness. Moving about the country, I have found an electric atmosphere of excitement and responsiveness. Everywhere there are doubts, stirrings, a desire to listen, to find out what it's all about. The extent to which groups have become politically radical is astounding. A year ago the movement stressed male chauvinism and psvc^ oppression; now the empiia*^ & on understanding the economic and social roots of women's oppression, and the analyses range from social democracy to Marxism. But the most striking change of all in the last year has been the loss of fear. Women are no longer afraid that their rebellion will threaten their very identity as women. They are not frightened by their own militancy, but liberated by it. Women's Liberation is an idea whose time has come.

The old women's movement burned itself out in the frantic decade of the 1920s. After a hundred years of struggle, women won a battle* only to lose the campaign: the vote was obtained, but the new millennium did not arrive. Women got the vote and achieved a measure of legal emancipation, but the real social and cultural barriers to full equality for women remained untouched.

For over 30 years the movement remained buried in its own ashes. Women were born and grew to maturity virtually ignorant of their own history of rebellion, aware only of a caricature of bluestockings and suffragists. Even as increasing numbers of women were being driven into the labor force by the brutal conditions of the 1930s and by the massive drain of men into the military in the 1940s, the old ideal remained: a woman's place was in the home and behind her man. As the war ended and men returned to resume their jobs in factories and offices, women were forced back to the kitchen and nursery with a vengeance. This story has been repeated after each war and the reason is clear: women form a flexible, cheap labor pool which is essential to a capitalist system. When labor is scarce, they are forced onto the labor market. When labor is plentiful, they are forced out. Women and blacks have provided a reserve army of unemployed workers, benefiting capitalists and the stable male white working class alike. Yet the

system imposes untold suffering on the victims, blacks and women, through low wages and chronic unemployment.

With the end of the war the average age at marriage declined, the average size of families went up, and the suburban migration began in earnest. The political conservatism of the 1950s was echoed in a social conservatism which stressed a Victorian ideal of the woman's life: a full womb and selfless devotion to husband and children.

As the bleak decade played itself out, however, three important social developments emerged which were to make a rebirth of the women's struggle inevitable. First, women came to make up more than a third of the labor force, the number of working women being twice the prewar figure. Yet the marked increase in female employment did nothing to better the position of women, who were more occupationally disadvantaged in the 1960s than they had been 25 years earlier. Rather than moving equally into all sectors of the occupational structure, they were being forced into the low-paying service, clerical and semiskilled categories. In 1940, women had held 45 percent of all professional and technical positions; in 1967, they held only 37 percent. The proportion of women in service jobs meanwhile rose from 50 to 55 percent.

Second, the intoxicating wine of marriage and suburban life was turning sour; a generation of women woke up to find their children grown and a life (roughly 30 more productive years) of housework and bridge parties stretching out before them like a wasteland. For many younger women, the empty drudgery they saw in the suburban life was a sobering contradiction to adolescent dreams of romantic love and the fulfilling role of woman as wife and mother.

Tnird, a growing civil rights movement was sweeping thousands of young men and women into a moral crusade—a crusade which harsh political experience was to transmute into the New Left. The American Dream was riven and tattered in Mississippi and finally napalmed in Vietnam. Young Americans were drawn not to Levittown, but to Berkeley, the Haight-Ashbury and the East Village. Traditional political ideologies and cultural myths, Sexual mores and sex roles with them, began to disintegrate in an explosion of rebellion and protest.

The three major groups which make up the new women's

movement—working women, middle-class married women and students—bring very different kinds of interests and objectives to women's liberation. Working women are most concerned with the economic issues of guaranteed employment, fair wages, job discrimination and child care. Their most immediate oppression is rooted in industrial capitalism and felt directly through the vicissitudes of an exploitive labor market.

Middle-class women, oppressed by the psychological mutilation and injustice of institutionalized segregation, discrimination and imposed inferiority, are most sensitive to the dehumanizing consequences of severely limited lives. Usually well educated and capable, these women are rebelling against being forced to trivialize their lives, to live vicariously through husbands and children.

Students, as unmarried middle-class girls, have been most sensitized to the sexual exploitation of women. They have experienced the frustration of one-way relationships in which the girl is forced into a "wife" and companion role with none of the supposed benefits of marriage. Young women have increasingly rebelled not only against passivity and dependency in their relationships but also against the notion that they must function as sexual objects, being defined in purely sexual rather than human terms, and being forced to package and sell themselves as commodities on the sex market.

Each group represents an independent aspect of the total institutionalized oppression of women. Their differences are those of emphasis and immediate interest ^rather than of fundamental goals. All women suffer from economic exploitation, from psychological deprivation, and from exploitive sexuality. Within women's liberation there is a growing understanding that the common oppression of women provides the basis for uniting across class and race lines to form a powerful and radical movement.

RACISM AND MALE SUPREMACY

Clearly, for the liberation of women to become a reality it is necessary to destroy the ideology of male supremacy which asserts the biological and social inferiority of women

in order to justify massive institutionalized oppression. Yet we all know that many women are as loud in their disavowal of this oppression as are the men who chant the litany of "a woman's place is in the home and behind her man." In fact, women are as ^trapped in their false consciousness as were the mass of blacks 20 years ago, and for much the same reason.

As blacks were defined and limited socially by their color, so women are defined and limited by their sex. While blacks, it was argued, were preordained by God or nature, or both, to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, so women are destined to bear and rear children, and to sustain their husbands with obedience and compassion. The Sky-God tramples through the heavens and the Earth/Mother-Goddess is always flat on her back with her legs spread, putting out for one and all.

Indeed, the phenomenon of male chauvinism can only be understood when it is perceived as a form of racism, based on stereotypes drawn from a deep belief in the biological inferiority of women. The so-called black analogy is no analogy at all; it is the same social process that is at work, a process which both justifies and helps perpetuate the exploitation of one group of human beings by another.

The very stereotypes that express the society's belief in the biological inferiority of women recall the images used to justify the oppression of blacks. The nature of women, like that of slaves, is depicted as dependent, incapable of reasoned thought, childlike in its simplicity and warmth, martyred in the role of mother, and mystical in the role of sexual partner. In its benevolent form, the inferior position of women results in paternalism; in its malevolent form, a domestic tyranny which can be unbelievably brutal.

It has taken over 50 years to discredit the scientific and social "proof" which once gave legitimacy to the myths of black racial inferiority. Today most people can see that the theory of the genetic inferiority of blacks is absurd. Yet few are shocked by the fact that scientists are still busy "proving" the biological inferiority of women.

In recent years, in which blacks have led the struggle for liberation, the emphasis on racism has focused only upon racism against blacks. The fact that "racism" has been practiced against many groups other than blacks has been pushed into the background. Indeed, a less forceful but more ac-

curate term for the phenomenon would be "social Darwinism." It was the opinion of the social Darwinists that in the natural course of things the "fit" succeed (i.e., oppress) and the "unfit" (i.e., the biologically inferior) sink to the bottom. According to this view, the very fact of a group's oppression proves its inferiority and the inevitable correctness of its low position. In this way each successive immigrant group coming to America was decked out in the garments of "racial" or biological inferiority until the group was sufficiently assimilated, whereupon Anglo-Saxon venom would turn on a new group filling up the space at the bottom. Now two groups remain, neither of which has been assimilated according to the classic American pattern: the "visibles"—blacks and women. It is equally true for both: "It won't wear off."

Yet the greatest obstacle facing those who would organize women remains women's belief in their own inferiority. Just as all subject populations are controlled by their acceptance of the Tightness of their own status, so women remain subject because they believe in the Tightness of their own oppression. This dilemma is not a fortuitous one, for the entire society is geared to socialize women to believe in and adopt as immutable necessity their traditional and inferior role. From earliest training to the grave, women are constrained and propagandized. Spend an evening at the movies or watching television, and you will see a grotesque figure called woman presented in a hundred variations upon the themes of "children, church, kitchen" or "the chick sex-pot."

For those who believe in the "rights of mankind," the "dignity of man," consider that to make a woman a person, a human being in her own right, you would have to change her sex: imagine Stokely Carmichael "prone and silent"; imagine Mark Rudd as a Laugh-In girl; picture Rennie Davis as Miss America. Such contradictions as these show how pervasive and deep-rooted is the cultural contempt for women, how difficult it is to imagine a woman as a serious human being, or conversely, how empty and degrading is the image of woman that floods the culture.

Countless studies have shown that black acceptance of white stereotypes leads to mutilated identity, to alienation, to rage and self-hatred. Human beings cannot bear in their own hearts the contradictions of those who hold them in

contempt. The ideology of male supremacy and its effect upon women merits as serious study as has been given to the effects of prejudice upon Jews, blacks, and immigrant groups.

It is customary to shame those who would draw the parallel between women and blacks by a great show of concern and chest beating over the suffering of black people. Vet this response itself reveals a refined combination of white middle-class guilt and male chauvinism, for it overlooks several essential facts. For example, the most oppressed group within the feminine population is made up of black women, many of whom take a dim view of the black male intellectual's adoption of white male attitudes of sexual superiority (an irony too cruel to require comment). Neither are those who make this pious objection to the racial parallel addressing themselves very adequately to the millions of white working-class women living at the poverty level, who are not likely to be moved by this middle-class guilt-ridden one-upmanship while having to deal with the boss, the factory, or the welfare worker day after day. They are already dangerously resentful of the gains made by blacks, and much of their "racist backlash" stems from the fact that they have been forgotten in the push for social change. Emphasis on the real mechanisms of oppression—on the commonality of the process—is essential lest groups such as these, which should work in alliance, become divided against one another.

White middle-class males already struggling with the acknowledgment of their own racism do not relish an added burden of recognition: that to white guilt must soon be added "male." It is therefore understandable that they should refuse to see the harshness of the lives of most women—to honestly face the facts of massive institutionalized discrimination against women. Witness the performance to date: "Take her down off the platform and give her a good fuck," "Petty Bourgeois Revisionist Running Dogs," or in the classic words of a Berkeley male "leader," "Let them eat cock."

Among whites, women remain the most oppressed—and the most unorganized—group. Although they constitute a potential mass base for the radical movement, in terms of movement priorities they are ignored; indeed they might as well be invisible. Far from being an accident, this omission

is a direct outgrowth of the solid male supremist beliefs of white radical and left-liberal men. Even now, faced with both fact and agitation, leftist men find the idea of placing any serious priority upon women so outrageous, such a degrading notion, that they respond with a virulence far out of proportion to the modest requests of movement women. This only shows that women must stop wasting their time worrying about the chauvinism of men in the movement' and focus instead on their real priority: organizing women.

marriage: genesis of women's rebellion

The institution of marriage is the chief vehicle for the perpetuation of the oppression of women; it is through the role of wife that the subjugation of women is maintained. In a very real way the role of wife has been the genesis of women's rebellion throughout history.

Looking at marriage from a detached point of view one may well ask why anyone gets married, much less women. One answer lies in the economics of women's position, for women are so occupationally limited that drudgery in the home is considered to be infinitely superior to drudgery in the factory. Secondly, women themselves have no independent social status. Indeed, there is no clearer index of the social worth of a woman in this society than the fact that she has none in her own right. A woman is first defined by the man to whom she is attached, but more particularly by the man she marries, and secondly by the children she bears and rears—hence the anxiety over sexual attractiveness, the frantic scramble for boyfriends and husbands. Having obtained and married a man the race is then on to have children, in order that their attractiveness and accomplishments may add more social worth. In a woman, not having children is seen as an incapacity somewhat akin to impotence in a man.

Beneath all of the pressures of the sexual marketplace and the marital-status game, however, there is a far more sinister organization of economic exploitation and psychological mutilation. The housewife role, usually defined in terms of the biological duty of a woman to reproduce and her "innate" suitability for a nurturant and companionship

role, is actually crucial to industrial capitalism in an advanced state of technological development. In fact, the housewife (some 44 million women of all classes, ethnic groups and races) provides, unpaid, absolutely essential services and labor. In turn, her assumption of all household duties makes it possible for the man to spend the majority of his time at the workplace.

It is important to understand the social and economic exploitation of the married woman, since the real productivity of her labor is denied by the commonly held assumption that she is dependent on her husband, exchanging her keep for emotional and nurturant services. Margaret Benston, a radical women's liberation leader, points out: "In sheer quantity, household labor, including child care, constitutes a huge amount of socially necessary production. Nevertheless, in a society based on commodity production, it is not usually considered even as 'real work' since it is outside of trade and the marketplace. This assignment of household work as the function of a special category 'women' means that this group does stand in a different relationship to production. . . . The material basis for the inferior status of women is to be found in just this definition of women. In a society in which money determines value, women are a group who work outside the money economy. Their work is not worth money, is therefore valueless, is therefore not even real work. And women themselves, who do this valueless work, can.hardly be expected to be worth as much as men, who work for money."

Women are essential to the economy not only as free labor, but also as consumers. The American system of capitalism depends for its survival on the consumption of vast amounts of socially wasteful goods, and a prime target for the unloading of this waste is the housewife. She is the purchasing agent for the family, but beyond that she is eager to buy because her own identity depends on her accomplishments as a consumer and her ability to satisfy the wants of her husband and children. This is not, of course, to say that she has any power in the economy. Although she spends the wealth, she does not own or control it—it simply passes through her hands.

In addition to their role as housewives and consumers, increasing numbers of women are taking outside employment. These women leave the home to join an exploited

labor force, only to return at night to assume the double burden of housework on top of wage work—that is, they are forced to work at two full-time jobs. No man is required or expected to take on such a burden. The result: two workers from one household in the labor force with no cutback in essential female functions—three for the price of two, quite a bargain.

Frederick Engels, now widely read in women's liberation, argues that, regardless of her status in the larger society, within the context of the family the woman's relationship to the man is one of proletariat to bourgeoisie. One consequence of this class division in the family is to weaken the capacity of men and women oppressed by the society to struggle together against it.

In all classes and groups, the institution of marriage functions to a greater or lesser degree to oppress women; the unity of women of different classes hinges upon our understanding of that common oppression. The nineteenth-century women's movement refused to deal with marriage and sexuality, and chose instead to fight for the vote and elevate the feminine mystique to a political ideology. That decision retarded the movement for decades. But 1969 is not 1889. For one thing, there now exist alternatives to marriage. The most original and creative politics of the women's movement has come from a direct confrontation with the issue of marriage and sexuality. The cultural revolution—experimentation with life-styles, communal living, collective child-rearing—have all come from the revolt against dehumanized sexual relationships, against the role of women as sexual commodities, against the constriction and spiritual strangulation inherent in the role of wife.

Lessons have been learned from the failures of the earlier movement as well. The feminine mystique is no longer taken for politics, nor gaining the vote for winning human rights. Women are now all together at the bottom of the work world, and the basis exists for a common focus of struggle for all women in American society. It remains for the movement to understand this, to avoid the mistakes of the past, to respond creatively to the possibilities of the present.

Women's oppression, although rooted in the institution of marriage, does not stop at the kitchen or the bedroom

door. Indeed, the economic exploitation of women in the workplace is the most commonly recognized aspect of the oppression of women.

Most women who enter the labor force do not work for "pin money" or "self-fulfillment." Sixty-two percent of all women working in 1967 were doing so out of economic need (i.e., were either alone or with husbands earning less than $5,000 a year). In 1963, 36 percent of American families had an income of less than $5,000 a year. Women from these families work because they must; they contribute 35 to 40 percent of the family's total income when working full time, and 15 to 20 percent when working part time.

Despite their need, however, women have always represented the most exploited sector of the industrial labor force. Child and female labor were introduced during the early stages of industrial capitalism, at a time when most men were gainfully employed in crafts. As industrialization developed and craft jobs were eliminated, men entered the industrial labor force, driving women and children into the lowest categories of work and pay. Indeed, the position of women and children industrial workers was so pitiful, and their wages so small, that the craft unions refused to organize them. Even when women organized themselves and engaged in militant strikes and labor agitation—from the shoemakers of Lynn, Massachusetts, to the International Ladies' Garment Workers and their great strike of 1909—male unionists continued to ignore their needs. As a result of this male supremacy in the unions, women remain essentially unorganized, despite the fact that they are becoming an even larger part of the labor force.

The trend is clearly toward increasing numbers of women entering the work force: women represented 55 percent of the growth of the total labor force in 1962, and the number of working women rose from 16.9 million in 1957 to 24 ^million in 1962. There is every indication that the number of women in the labor force will continue to grow as rapidly in the future.

Job discrimination against women exists in all sectors of work, even in occupations which are predominantly made up of women. This discrimination is reinforced in the field of education, where women are being shortchanged at a

time when the job market demands higher educational levels. In 1962, for example, while women constituted 53 percent of the graduating high-school class, only 42 percent of the entering college class were women. Only one in three people who received a B.A. or M.A. in that year was a woman, and only one in ten who received a Ph.D. was a woman. These figures represent a decline in educational achievement for women since the 1930s, when women received two out of five of the B.A. and M.A. degrees given, and one out of seven of the Ph.Ds. While there has been a dramatic increase in the number of people, including women, who go to college, women Jiave not kept pace with men in terms of educational achievement. Furthermore, women have lost ground in professional employment. In 1960 only 22 percent of the faculty and other professional staff at colleges and universities were women —down from 28 percent in 1949, 27 percent in 1930, 26 percent in 1920. 1960 does beat 1919 with only 20 percent —"you've come a long way, baby"—right back to where you started! In other professional categories: ten percent of all scientists are women, seven percent of all physicians, three percent of all lawyers, and one percent of all engineers.

Even when women do obtain an education, in many cases it does them little good. Women, whatever their educational level, are concentrated in the lower-paying occupations. The figures in Chart A tell a story that most women know and few men will admit: most women are forced to work at clerical jobs, for which they are paid, on the average, $1,600 less per year than men doing the same work. Working-class women in the service and operative (semiskilled) categories, making up 30 percent of working women, are paid $1,900 less per year on the average than are men. Of all working women, only 13 percent are professionals (including low-pay and low-status work such as teaching, nursing and social work), and they earn $2,600 less per year than do professional men. Household workers, the lowest category of all, are predominantly women (over two million) and predominantly black and third-world, earning for their labor barely over $1,000 per year.

Not only are women forced into the lowest rungs of the

occupational ladder, they are in the lowest income levels as well. The most constant and bitter injustice experienced by all women is the income differential. While women might passively accept low-status jobs, limited opportunities for advancement, and discrimination in the factory, office and university, they choke finally on the daily fact that the male worker next to them earns more, and usually does less. In 1965 the median wage or salary income of year-round full-time women workers was only 60 percent that of men, a four-percent loss since 1955. Twenty-nine percent of working women earned less than $3,000 a year as compared with 11 percent of the men; 43 percent of the

Chart A

comparative statistics for men and women in the labor force, 1960

Percentage of Income of Numbers of

Occupation	working women in each occupational category	Year-Round Full-Time Workers		Workers in Millions	
		Women	Men	Women	Men
Professional	13%	$4358	$7115	3	5
Managers, Officials and Proprietors	5	3514	7241	1	5
Clerical	31	3586	5247	7	3
Operatives	15	2970	4977	4	9
Sales	7	2389	5842	2	3
Service	15	2340	4089	3	3
Private Household	10	1156	-	2	-

Chart A

comparative statistics for men and women in the labor force, 1960

Percentage of Income of Numbers of

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: "Current Population Reports," P-60, No. 37, and U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census: "Current Population Reports," P-60, No. 37, and U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics and U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.

women earned from $3,000 to $5,000 a year as compared with 19 percent of the men; and nine percent of the women earned $7,000 or more as compared with 43 percent of the men.

What most people do not know is that in certain respects,

women suffer more than do nonwhite men, and that black and third-world women suffer most of all.

Chart B

median annual wages for men and women by race, 1960

Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census.
Alsp see: President's Commission on the Status of Women, 1963.

Women, regardless of race, are more disadvantaged than are men, including nonwhite men. White women earn $2,600 less than white men and $1,500 less than nonwhite men. The brunt of the inequality is carried by 2.5 million nonwhite women, 94 percent of whom are black. They earn $3,800 less than white men, $1,900 less than nonwhite men, and $1,200 less than white women.

There is no more bitter paradox in the racism of this country than that the white man, articulating the male supremacy of the white male middle class, should provide the rationale for the oppression of black women by black men. Black women constitute the largest minority in the United States, and they are the most disadvantaged group in the labor force. The further oppression of black women will not liberate black men, for black women were never the oppressors of their men—that is a myth of the liberal white man. The oppression of black men comes from institutionalized racism and economic exploitation: from the world of the white man. Consider the following facts and figures.

The percentage of black working women has always been proportionately greater than that of white women. In 1900, 41 percent of black women were employed, as compared to 17 percent for white women. In 1963, the proportion of black women employed was still a fourth greater than that of whites. In 1960, 44 percent of black married women with children under six years were in the labor force, in contrast to 29 percent for white women. While job competition requires even higher levels of education, the bulk of illiterate women are black. On the whole, black women—who often have the greatest need for employment—are the most discriminated against in terms of

workers

median annual wage

Males, White
Males, Nonwhite
Females, White
Females, Nonwhite

$5,137
$3,075
$2,537
$1,276

opportunity. Forced by an oppressive and racist society to carry unbelievably heavy economic and social burdens, black women stand at the bottom of that society, doubly marked by the caste signs of color and sex.

The, rise of new agitation for the occupational equality of women also coincided with the reentry of the "lost generation"—the housewives of the 1950s—into the job market. Women from middle-class backgrounds, faced with an "empty nest" (children grown or in school) and a widowed or divorced rate of one-fourth to one-third of all marriages, returned to the workplace in large numbers. But once there they discovered that women, middle class or otherwise, are the last hired, the lowest paid, the least often promoted, and the first fired. Furthermore, women are more likely to suffer job discrimination on the basis of age, so the widowed and divorced suffer particularly, even though their economic need to work is often urgent. Age discrimination also means that the option of work after child-rearing is limited. Even highly qualified older women find themselves forced into low-paid, unskilled or semi-skilled work—if they are lucky enough to find a job in the first place.

The realities of the work world for most middle-class women—that they become members of the working class, like it or not—are understandably distant to many young men and women in college who have never had to work, and who tend to think of the industrial "proletariat" as a revolutionary force, to the exclusion of "bourgeois" working women. Their image of the "pampered middle-class woman" is factually incorrect and politically naive. It is middle-class women forced into working-class life who are often the first to become conscious of the contradiction between the "American Dream" anfl their daily experience.

Faced with discrimination on the job—after being forced into the lower levels of the occupational structure—millions of women are inescapably presented with the fundamental contradictions in their unequal treatment and their massive exploitation. The rapid growth of women's liberation as a movement is related in part to the exploitation of working women in all occupational categories.

Male supremacy, marriage, and the structure of wage labor —each of these aspects of women's oppression has been cru-

cial to the resurgence of the women's struggle. It must be abundantly clear that radical social change must occur before there can be significant improvement in the soc'al position of women. Some form of socialism is a minimum requirement, considering the changes that must come in the institutions of marriage and the family alone. The intrinsic radicalism of the struggle for women's liberation necessarily links women with all other oppressed groups.

The heart of the movement, as in all freedom movements, rests in women's knowledge, whether articulated or still only an illness without a name, that they are not inferior—not chicks, nor bunnies, nor quail, nor cows, nor bitches, nor ass, nor meat. Women hear the litany of their own dehumanization each day. Yet all the same, women know that male supremacy is a lie. They know they are not animals or sexual objects or commodities. They know their lives are mutilated, because they see within themselves a promise of creativity and personal integration. Feeling the contradiction between the essentially creative and self-actualizing human being within her, and the cruel and degrading less-than-human role she is compelled to play, a woman begins to perceive the falseness of what her society has forced her to be. And once she perceives this, she knows that she must fight.

Women must learn the meaning of rage, the violence that liberates the human spirit. The rhetoric of invective is an equally essential stage, for in discovering and venting their rage against the enemy—and the enemy in everyday life is men—women also experience the justice of their own violence. They learn the first lessons in their own latent strength. Women must learn to know themselves as revolutionaries. They must become hard and strong 4n their determination, while retaining their humanity and tenderness.

There is a rage that impels women into a total commitment to women's liberation. That ferocity stems from a denial of mutilation; it is a cry for life, a cry for the liberation of the spirit. Roxanne Dunbar, surely one of the most impressive women in the movement, conveys the feelings of many:

We are damaged—we women, we oppressed, we disinherited. There are very few who are not dam-

aged, and they rule. . . . The oppressed trust those who rule more than they trust themselves, because self-con tempt emerges from powerlessness. Anyway, few oppressed people believe that life could be much different. . . . We are damaged and we have the right to hate and have contempt and to kill and to scream. But for what? . . . Do we want the oppressor to admit he is wrong, to withdraw his misuse of us? He is only too happy to admit guilt—then do nothing but try to absorb and exorcize the new thought. . . . That does not make up for what I have lost, what I never had, and what all those others who are worse off than I never had. . . . Nothing will compensate for the irreparable harm it has done to my sisters. . . . How could we possibly settle for anything remotely less, even take a crumb in the meantime less, than total annihilation of a system which systematically destroys half its people....

The Next Great Moment in History Is Ours

VIVIAN GORNICK

One evening not too long ago, at the home of a well-educated couple I know, I mentioned the women's liberation "movement and was mildly astonished by the response the subject received. The man said: "Jesus, what is all that crap about?" The woman, a scientist who had given up ten working years to raise her children, said, "I can understand if these women want to work and are demanding equal pay. But why on earth do they want to have children, too?" To which the man rejoined: "Ah, they don't want kids. They're mostly a bunch of dykes, anyway."

Again: Having lunch with an erudite, liberal editor, trained in the humanist tradition, I was struck dumb by his reply to my mention of the women's movement: "Ah, shit! Who the hell is oppressing them?"

And yet again: A college-educated housewife, fat and neurotic, announced with arch sweetness, "I'm sorry, I just don't feel oppressed."

Over and over again, in educated, thinking circles, one meets with a bizarre, almost determined ignorance of a fact of unrest that is growing daily and that exists in formally organized bodies in nearly every major city and on dozens of campuses across America. The women of this country are gathering themselves into a sweat of civil revolt, and the general population seems totally unaware of what is happening; or, indeed, that anything is happening; or that there is a legitimate need behind what is happening. How is this possible? Why is it true? What relation is there between the peculiarly unalarmed, amused dismissal of the women's rights movement and the movement itself? Is this relation only coincidental, only the generally apathetic response of a society already benumbed by civil rights and student anarchy and unable to rise to yet one more protest movement, or is it more to the point in the case of women's rights; is it not, in fact, precisely the key to the entire issue?

Almost invariably, when people set out to tell you there is no such thing as discrimination against women in this country, the first thing they hastily admit to is a minor degree of economic favoritism shown toward men. In fact, they will eagerly, almost gratefully, support the claim of economic inequity, as though that will keep the discussion within manageable bounds. Curious. But even on economic grounds or grounds of legal discrimination most people are dismally ignorant of the true proportions of the issue. They will grant that often a man will make as much as $100 more than a woman at the same job, and yes, it is often difficult for a woman to be hired when a man can be hired instead, but after all, that's really not so terrible.

This is closer to the facts:

Women in this country make 60 cents for every dollar a man makes.

Women do not share in the benefits of the fair employment practices laws because those laws do not specify "no discrimination on the basis of sex."

Women often rise in salary only to the point at which a man starts.

Women occupy, in great masses, the "household tasks" of industry. They are nurses, but not doctors, secretaries but not managers, bookkeepers but not promoters.

Women almost never occupy decision- or policy-making positions.

Women are almost nonexistent in government.

Women are subject to a set of "protective" laws that restrict their working hours, do not allow them to occupy many jobs in which the carrying of weights is involved, do not allow them to enter innumerable restaurants, bars, hotels and other public places unescorted.

Women, despite 100 years of reform, exist in the domestic and marriage laws of our country almost literally as appendages of their husbands. Did you know that rape by a husband is legal, but that if a woman refuses to sleep with her husband, she is subject to legal suit? Did you know that the word "domicile" in the law refers to the husband's domicile and that if a woman refuses to follow her husband to wherever he makes his home, legal suit can be brought against her? Did you know that in most states the law imposes severe legal disabilities on married women with regard to their personal and property rights? (As a feminist said to me: "The United Nations has defined servitude as necessarily involuntary, but women, ignorant of the law, put themselves into voluntary servitude.")

Perhaps, you will say, these observations are not so shocking. After all, women are weaker than men, they do need protection, what on earth is so terrible about being protected, for God's sake! And as for those laws, they're never invoked, no woman is dragged anywhere against her will; on the contrary, women's desires rule the middle-class household, and women can work at hundreds of jobs, in fact, a great deal of the wealth of the country is in their hands, and no woman ever goes hungry. I agree. These observed facts of our national Jife are not so shocking. The laws and what accrues from them are not so terrible. It is what's behind the laws that is so terrible. It is not the ietter of the law but the spirit determining the law that is terrible. It is not what is explicit but what is implicit in the law that is terrible. It is not the apparent condition but the actual condition of woman that is terrible.

"The woman's issue is the true barometer of change," said a famous political theoretician. This was true 100 years ago; it is no less true today. Women and blacks were and are, traditionally and perpetually, the great "outsiders" in Western culture, and their erratic swellings of outrage parallel each other in a number of ways that are both understandable and also extraordinary. A hundred years ago a great abolitionist force wrenched this country apart and changed its history forever; many, many radical men devoted a fever of life to wrecking a system in which men were bought and sold; many radical women worked toward the same end. The abolitionist movement contained women who came out of educated and liberal nineteenth-century families, women who considered themselves independent, thinking beings. It was only when Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott were not allowed to be seated at a World Anti-Slavery Conference held in the 1840s that the intellectual abolitionist women suddenly perceived that their own political existence resembled that of the blacks. They raised the issue with their radical men and were denounced furiously for introducing an insignificant issue, one which was sure to weaken the movement. Let's win this war first, they said, and then we'll see about women's rights. But the women had seen, in one swift, visionary moment, to the very center of their own lives, and they knew that first was now, that there would never be a time when men would willingly address themselves to the question of female rights, that to strike out now for women's rights could do nothing but strengthen the issue of black civil rights because it called attention to all instances of rights denied in a nation that prided itself on rights for all.

Thus was born the original women's rights movement, which became known as the Women's Suffrage Movement because the single great issue, of course, was legal and political recognition. But it was never meant to begia and end with the vote. Somehow, though, that awful and passionate struggle for suffrage seemed to exhaust both the blacks and the women, especially the women, for when the vote finally came at the end of the Civil War, it was handed to black males—but not to women; the women had to go on fighting for 60 bitterly long years for suffrage. And then both blacks and women lay back panting, unable

to catch their breath for generation upon generation.

The great civil rights movement for blacks in the 1950s and 1960s is the second wind of that monumental first effort, necessary because the legislated political equality of the 1860s was never translated into actual equality. The reforms promised by law had never happened. The piece of paper meant nothing. Racism had never been legislated out of existence; in fact, its original virulence had remained virtually untouched, and more important, the blacks in this country had never been able to shake off the slave mentality. He was born scared, he ran scared, he died scared; for 100 years after legal emancipation, he lived as though it had never happened. Blacks and whites did not regard either themselves or each other differently, and so they in no way lived differently. In the 1950s and 1960s the surging force behind the renewed civil rights effort has been the desire to eradicate this condition more than any other, to enable the American black to believe in himself as a whole, independent, expressive human being capable of fulfilling and protecting himself in the very best way he knows how. Today, after more than 15 years of unremitting struggle, after a formidable array of reform laws legislated at the federal, state and local levels, after a concentration on black rights and black existence that has traumatized the nation, it is still not unfair to say that the psychology of defeat has not been lifted from black life. Still (aside from the continuance of crime, drugs, broken homes and all the wretched rest of it), employers are able to say, "Sure, I'd love to hire one if I could find one who was qualified," and while half the time this is simply not true, half the time it is, because black life is still marked by the "nigger mentality" and the terrible inertia of spirit that accompanies the perhaps irrational but deeply felt conviction that no matter what one does, one is going to wind up a thirty-five-year-old busboy. This "nigger mentality" characterizes black lives. It also characterizes women's lives. And it is this, and this alone, that is behind the second wave of feminism now sweeping the country and paralleling precisely, exactly as it did 100 years ago, the black rights movement. The fight for reform laws is just the beginning. What women are really after this time around is the utter eradication of the "nigger" in themselves. •

Most women who feel "niggerized" have tales of overt oppression to tell. They feel they've been put down by their fathers, their brothers, their lovers, their bosses. They feel that in their families, in their sex lives, and in their jobs they have counted as nothing, they have been treated as second-class citizens, their minds have been deliberately stunted and their emotions warped. My own experience with the condition is a bit more subtle, and, without bragging, I do believe a bit closer to the true feminist viewpoint.

To begin with, let me tell a little story. Recently I had lunch with a man I had known at school. He and his wife and I had all been friends at college; they had courted while w6 were in school and immediately upon graduation they got married. They were both talented art students, and it was assumed both would work in commercial art. But shortly after their marriage she became pregnant, and never did go to work. Within five years they had two children. At first I visited them often; their home was lovely, full of their mutual talent for atmosphere; the wife sparkled, the children flourished. I envied them both their self-containment, and her especially her apparently settled, contented state. But as I had remained single and life took me off in various other directions, we soon began to drift apart, and when I again met the husband we had not seen each other for many years. We spoke animatedly of what we had both been doing for quite a while. Then I asked about his wife. His face rearranged itself suddenly, but I couldn't quite tell how at first. He said she was fine, but it didn't sound right.

"What's wrong?" I asked. "Is she doing something you don't want her to do? Or the other way around?"

"No, no," he said hastily. "I want her to do whatever she wants to do. Anything. Anything that will make her happy. And get her off my back," he ended bluntly. I asked what he meant and he told me of his wife's restlessness of the last few years, of how sick she was of being a housewife, how useless she felt, and how she longed to go back to work.

"Well," I asked, "did you object?"

"Of course not!" he replied vigorously. "Why the hell would I do that? She's a very talented woman, her children are half grown, she's got every right in the world to go to work."

"So?" I said.

"It's her," he said bewilderediy. "She doesn't seem able to just go out and get a job."

"What do you mean?" I asked. But beneath the surface of my own puzzled response I more than half knew what was coming.

"Well, she's scared, I think. She's more talented than half the people who walk into my office asking for work, but do what I will, she won't get a portfolio together and make the rounds. Also, she cries a lot lately. For no reason, if you know what I mean. And then, she can't seem to get up in the morning in time to get a baby-sitter and get out of the house. This is a woman who was always up at 7:00 a.m. to feed everybody, get things going; busy, capable, doing ten things at once." He shook his head as though in a true quandary. "Oh well," he ended up. "I guess it doesn't matter any more."

"Why not?" I asked.

His eyes came up and he looked levelly at me. "She's just become pregnant again."

I listened silently, but with what internal churning! Even though the external events of our lives were quite different, I felt as though this woman had been living inside my skin all these years, so close was I to the essential nature of her experience as I perceived it listening to her husband's woebegone tale. I had wandered about the world, I had gained another degree, I had married twice, I had written, taught, edited; I had no children. And yet I knew that in some fundamental sense we were the same woman. I understood exactly—but exactly—the kind of neurotic anxiety that just beset her, and that had ultimately defeated her; it was a neurosis I shared and had recognized in almost every woman I ever knew—including Monica Vitti, having her Sciaparellied nervous breakdown, stuffing her hand into her mouth, rolling her eyes wildly, surrounded by helplessly sympathetic men who kept saying: "Just tell me what's wrong!"

I was raised in an immigrant home where education was worshipped. As the entire American culture was somewhat mysterious to my parents, the educational possibilities of that world were equally unknown for both the boy and the girl in our family. Therefore, I grew up in the certainty that if my brother went to college, I too could go

to college; and indeed, he did, and I in my turn did too. We both read voraciously from early childhood on, and we were both encouraged to do so. We both had precocious and outspoken opinions and neither of us was ever discouraged from uttering them. We both were exposed early to unionist radicalism and neither of us met with opposition when, separately, we experimented with youthful political organizations. And yet somewhere along the line my brother and I managed to receive an utterly different education regarding ourselves and our expectations from life. He was taught many things but what he learned was the need to develop a kind of inner necessity. I was taught many things but what I learned, ultimately, was that it was the prime vocation of my life to prepare myself for the love of a good man and the responsibilities of homemaking and motherhood. All the rest, the education, the books, the jobs, that was all very nice and, of course, why not? I was an intelligent girl, shouldn't I learn? Make something of myself? but oh dolly, you'll see, in the end no woman could possibly be happy without a man to love and children to raise. What's more, came the heavy implication, if I didn't marry I would be considered an irredeemable failure.

How did I learn this? How? I have pondered this question a thousand times. Was it really that explicit? Was it laid out in lessons? Strategically planned and carefully executed? Was it spooned down my throat at regular intervals? No. It wasn't. I have finally come to understand that the lessons were implicit and they took place in a hundred different ways, in a continuous day-to-day exposure to an attitude, shared by all, about women, about what kind of creatures they were and what kind of lives they were meant to live; the lessons were administered not only by my parents but by the men and women, the boys and girls, all around me who, of course, had been made in the image of this attitude.

My mother would say to me when I was very young, as I studied at the kitchen table and she cooked: "How lucky you are to go to school! I wasn't so lucky. I had to go to work in the factory. I wanted so to be a nurse! But go be a nurse in Williamsburg in 1920! Maybe you'll be a nurse. ..." I listened. I nodded, but somehow the message I got was that I was like her and that one day I would be doing what she was now doing.

My brother was the "serious and steady" student, I the "erratic and undisciplined" one. When he studied, the house was silenced; when I studied, business as usual.

When I was fourteen and I came in flushed and disarrayed my mother knew I'd been with a boy. Her fingers gripped my upper arm; her face, white and intent, bent over me: What did he do to you? Where did he do it? I was frightened to death. What was she so upset about? What could he do to me? I learned that I was the keeper of an incomparable treasure and it had to be guarded: it was meant to be a gift for my husband. (Later that year when I read A Rage to Live I knew without any instruction what all those elliptical sentences were about.)

When I threw some hideous temper tantrum my mother would say: "What a little female you are!" (I have since seen many little boys throw the same tantrums and have noted with interest that they are not told they are little females.)

The girls on the street would talk forever about boys, clothes, movies, fights with their mothers. The thousand thoughts racing around in my head from the books I was reading remained secret, no one to share them with.

The boys would be gentler with the girls than with each other when we all played roughly; and our opinions were never considered seriously.

I grew up, I went to school, I came out, wandered around, went to Europe, went back to school, wandered again, taught in a desultory fashion and at last! Got married!

It was during my first marriage that I began to realize that something was terribly wrong with inside me, but it took me ten years to understand that I was suffering the classic female pathology. My husband, like all the men I have known, was a good man, a man who wanted my independence for me more than I wanted it for myself. He urged me to work, to do something, anything, that would make me happy; he knew that our pleasure in each other could be heightened only if I were a functioning human being too. Yes, yes! I said and leaned back in the rocking chair with yet another novel. Somehow, I couldn't do anything. I didn't know where to start, what I wanted to do. Oh, I had always had a number of interests but they, through an inability on my part to stick with anything,

had always been superficial; when I arrived at a difficult point in a subject, a job, an interest, I would simply drop it. Of course what I really wanted to do was write; but that was a ghastly agony and one I could never come to grips with. There seemed to be some terrible aimlessness at the very center of me, some paralyzing lack of will. My energy, which was abundant* was held in a trap of some sort; occasionally that useless energy would wake up roaring, demanding to be let out of its cage, and then I became "emotional," I would have hysterical depressions, rage on and on about the meaninglessness of my life, force my husband into long psychoanalytic discussions about the source of my (our) trouble, end in a purging storm of tears, a determination to "do something," and six months later I was right back where I started. If my marriage had not dissolved, I am sure I would still be in exactly the same nightmarish position. But as it happened, the events of life forced me back into the world, and repeatedly I had to come up against myself. I found this pattern of behavior manifesting itself in a hundred different circumstances; regardless of how they began, they always seemed to end in the same place. Oh, I worked, I advanced, in a sense, but only erratically and with superhuman effort. Always the battle was internal, and it was with a kind of paralyzing anxiety at the center of me that drained off my energy and retarded my capacity for intellectual concentration. It took me a long time to perceive that nearly every woman I knew exhibited the same symptoms, and when I did perceive it I became frightened. I thought, at first, that perhaps, indeed, we were all victims of some biological deficiency, that some vital ingredient had been deleted in the female of the species, that we were a physiological metaphor for human neurosis. It took me a long time to understand, with an understanding that is irrevocable, that we are the victims of culture, not biology.

Recently I read a marvelous biography of Beatrice Webb, the English socialist. The book is full of vivid portraits, but the one that is fixed forever in my mind is that of Mrs. Webb's mother, Laurencina Potter. Laurencina Potter was a beautiful, intelligent, intellectually energetic woman of the middle nineteenth century. She knew 12 languages, spoke Latin and Greek better than half the classics-trained men who came to her home, and was

interested in everything. Her marriage to wealthy and powerful Richard Potter was a love match, and she looked forward to a life of intellectual companionship, stimulating activity, lively participation. No sooner were they married than Richard installed her in a Victorian fortress in the country, surrounded her with servants and physical comfort, and started her off with the first of the 11 children she eventually bore. He went out into the world, bought and sold railroads, made important political connections, mingled in London society, increased his powers, and relished his life. She, meanwhile, languished. She sat in the country, staring at the four brocaded walls; her energy remained bottled up, her mind became useless, her will evaporated. The children became symbols of her enslavement and, in consequence, she was a lousy mother: neurotic, increasingly more involved in taking her emotional temperature, colder and more withdrawn. She became, in short, the Victorian lady afflicted with indefinable maladies.

When I read of Laurencina's life I felt as though I were reading about the lives of most of the women I know, and it struck me that 100 years ago sexual submission was all for a woman and today sexual fulfillment is all for a woman, and the two are one and the same.

Most of the women I know are people of superior intelligence, developed emotions, and higher education. And yet our friendships, our conversations, our lives are not marked by intellectual substance or emotional distance or objective concern. It is only briefly and insubstantially that I ever discuss books or politics or philosophical issues or abstractions of any kind with the women I know. Mainly we discuss and are intimate about our Emotional Lives. Endlessly, endlessly we go on and on about our emotional "problems" and "needs" and "relationships." And, of course, because we are all bright and well educated, we bring to bear on these sessions a formidable amount of sociology and psychology, literature and history, all hoked out so that it sounds as though these are serious conversations on serious subjects, when in fact they are caricatures of seriousness right out of Jonathan Swift, caricatures, because they have no beginning, middle, end or point. They go. nowhere, they conclude nothing, they change nothing. They are elaborate descriptions in the

ongoing soap opera that is our lives. It took me a long time to understand that we were talking about nothing, and it took me an even longer and harder time, traveling down that dark, narrow road in the mind, back, back to the time when I was a little girl sitting in the kitchen with my mother, to understand, at last, that the affliction was cultural, not biological, that it was because we had never been taught to take ourselves seriously that I and all the women I knew had become parodies of "taking ourselves seriously."

The rallying cry of the black movement has always been: "Give us back our manhood!" What exactly does that mean? Where is black manhood? How has it been taken from blacks? And how can it be retrieved? The answer lies in one word: responsibility; therefore, they have been deprived of serious work; therefore, they have been deprived of self-respect; therefore, they have been deprived of manhood.

Women have been deprived of exactly the same thing and in every real sense have thus been deprived of womanhood. We have never been prepared to assume responsibility; we have never been prepared to make demands upon ourselves; we have never been taught to expect the development of what is best in ourselves because no one has ever expected anything of us—or for us. Because no one has ever had any intention of turning over any serious work to us. Both we and the blacks lost the ballgame before we ever got up to play. In order to live you've got to have nerve; and we were stripped of our nerve before we began. Black is ugly and female is inferior. These are the primary lessons of our experience, and in these ways both blacks and women have been kept, not as functioning nationals, but rather as operating objects; but a human being who remains as a child throughout his adult life is an object, not a mature specimen, and the definition of a child is: one without responsibility.

At the very center of all human life is energy, psychic energy. It is the force of that energy that drives us, that surges continually up in us, that must repeatedly spend and renew itself in us, that must perpetually be reaching for something beyond itself in order to satisfy its own insatiable appetite. It is the imperative of that energy that has determined man's characteristic interest, problem-

solving. The modern ecologist attests to that driving need by demonstrating that in a time when all the real problems are solved, man makes up new ones in order to go on solving. He must have work, work that he considers real and serious, or he will die, he will simply shrivel up and die. That is the one certain characteristic of human beings. And it is the one characteristic, above all others, that the accidentally dominant white male asserts is not necessary to more than half the members of the race, i.e., the female of the species. This assertion is, quite simply, a lie. Nothing more, nothing less. A lie. That energy is alive in every woman in the world. It lies trapped and dormant like a growing tumor, and at its center there is despair, hot, deep, wordless.

It is amazing to me that I have just written these words. To think that 100 years after Nora slammed the door, and in a civilization and a century utterly converted to the fundamental insights of that exasperating genius, Sigmund Freud, women could still be raised to believe that their basic makeup is determined not by the needs of their egos but by their peculiar childbearing properties and their so-called unique capacity for loving. No man worth his salt does not wish to be a husband and father; yet no man is raised to be a husband and father and no man would ever conceive of those relationships as instruments of his prime function in life. Yet every woman is raised, still, to believe that the fulfillment of these relationships is her prime function in life and what's more her instinctive choice.

The fact is that women have no special capacities for love, and when a culture reaches a level where its women have nothing to do but "love" (as occurred in the Victorian upper classes and as is occurring now in the American middle classes), they prove to be very bad at it. The modern American wife is not noted for her love of her husband or of her children; she is noted for her driving (or should I say driven?) domination of them. She displays an aberrated, aggressive ambition for her mate and for her offspring which can be explained only by the most vicious feelings toward the self. The reasons are obvious. The woman who must love for a living, the woman who has no self, no objective, external reality to take her own measure by, no work to discipline her, no goal to provide the illusion of progress, no internal resources, no

separate mental existence, is constitutionally incapable of the emotional distance that is one .of the real requirements of love. She cannot separate herself from her husband and children because all the passionate and multiple needs of her being are centered on them. That's why women "take everything personally." It's all they've got to take. "Loving" must substitute for an entire range of feeling and interest. The man, who is not raised to be a husband and father specifically, and who simply loves as a single function of his existence, cannot understand her abnormal "emotionality" and concludes that this is the female nature. (Why shouldn't he? She does, too.) But this is not so. It is a result of a psychology achieved by cultural attitudes that run so deep and have gone on for so long that they are mistaken for "nature" or "instinct."

A good example of what I mean are the multiple legends of our culture regarding motherhood. Let's use our heads for a moment. What on earth is holy about motherhood? I mean, why motherhood rather than fatherhood? If anything is holy it is the consecration of sexual union. A man plants a seed in a woman; the seed matures and is expelled by the woman; a child is born to both of them; each contributed the necessary parts to bring about procreation; each is responsible to and necessary to the child; to claim that the woman is more so than the man is simply not true; certainly it cannot be proven biologically or psychologically (please, no comparisons with baboons and penguins just now—I am sure I can supply 50 examples from nature to counter any assertion made on the subject); all that can be proven is that some one is necessary to the newborn baby; to have instilled in women the belief that their childbearing and housewifely obligations supersede all other needs, that indeed what they fundamentally want and need is to be wives and mothers as distinguished from being anything else, is to have accomplished an act of trickery, an act which has deprived women of the proper forms of expression necessary to that force of energy alive in every talking creature, an act which has indeed mutilated their natural selves and deprived them of their womanhood, whatever that may be, deprived them of the right to say "I" and have it mean something. This understanding, grasped whole, is what underlies the current wave of feminism. It is felt by thousands of women

today, it will be felt by millions tomorrow. You have only to examine briefly a fraction of the women's rights organizations already in existence to realize instantly that they form the nucleus of a genuine movement, complete with theoreticians, tacticians, agitators, manifestos, journals, and thesis papers, running the entire political spectrum from conservative reform to visionary radicalism and powered by an emotional conviction rooted in undeniable experience, and fed by a determination that is irreversible.

Cutting Loose

SALLY KEMPTON

Once another woman and I were talking about male resistance to woman's liberation, and she said that she didn't understand why men never worry about women taking their jobs away but worry only about the possibility that women may stop making love to them and bearing their children. And once I was arguing with a man I know about woman's liberation, and he said he wished he had a motorcycle g&ng with which to invade a woman's liberation meeting and rape everybody in it. There are times when I understand the reason for men's feelings. I have noticed that beyond the feminists' talk about the myth of the vaginal orgasm lies a radical resentment of their position in the sexual act. And I have noticed that when I feel most militantly feminist I am hardly at all interested in sex.

Almost one could generalize from that: the feminist impulse is antisexual. The very notion of women gathering in groups is somehow antisexual, antimale, just as the purposely all-male group is antifemale. There is often a sense of genuine cultural rebellion ir> the atmosphere of a woman's liberation meeting. Women sit with their legs apart, carelessly dressed, barely made-up, exhibiting their feelings or the holes at the knees of their jeans with an

unprovocative candor which is hardly seen at all in the outside world. Of course, they are demonstrating by their postures that they are in effect off duty, absolved from the compulsion to make themselves attractive, and yet, as the world measures these things, such demonstrations could in themselves be seen as evidence of neurosis: we have all been brought up to believe that a woman who was "whole" would appear feminine even on the barricades.

The fact is that one cannot talk in feminist terms without revealing feelings which have traditionally been regarded as neurotic. One becomes concerned about women's rights, as Simone de Beauvoir noted, only when one perceives that there are few personal advantages to be gained from accepting the traditional women's roles. A woman who is satisfied with her life is not likely to be drawn into the woman's liberation movement: there must be advantages for her as a woman in a man's world. To be a feminist one must be to some degree maladjusted to that world, one must be, if you will, neurotic. And sometimes one must be antisexual, if only in reaction to masculine expectations. Men do not worry about women taking their jobs because they do not think that women could do their jobs; most men can only be threatened by a woman in bed. A woman who denies her sexuality, if only for an evening, denies her status as an object of male attention, as a supplicant, successful or not, for male favor. For a woman to deny her sexuality is to attack the enemy in his most valuable stronghold, which is her own need for him.

I became a feminist as an alternative to becoming a masochist. Actually, I always was a masochist; I became a feminist because to be a masochist is intolerable. As I get older I recognize more and more that the psychoanalytical idea that women are natural masochists is at least metaphorically correct: my own masochism derived from an almost worshipful respect for masculine power. In my adolescence I screwed a lot of guys I didn't much like, and always felt abused by them, but I never felt free to refuse sex until after the initial encounter. My tactic, if you can call it a tactic, was to Do It once and then to refuse to see the boy again, and I think I succeeded, with my demonstrations of postcoital detachment, in making several of them feel as rejected by my lovemaking as I had felt by their desire to make love to me without love. Yet I felt in those

years that I had irretrievably marked myself a sexual rebel, and I was given to making melodramatic statements like "I'm not the kind of girl men marry." Years later I realized that I had been playing a kind of game, the same game boys play at the age of sexual experimentation, except that, unlike a boy, I could not allow myself to choose my partners and admit that I had done so. In fact, I was never comfortable with a lover unless he had, so to speak, wronged me. Once during my senior year in high school I let a boy rape me (that is not, whatever you may think, a contradiction in terms) in the bedroom of his college suite while a party was going on next door; afterward I ran away down the stairs while he followed, shouting apologies which became more and more abject as he realized that my revulsion was genuine, and I felt an exhilaration which I clearly recognized as triumph. By letting him abuse me I had won the right to tell him I hated him; I had won the right to hurt him.

I think most American adolescents hate and fear the opposite sex: in adolescence it seems that only one's lovers can hurt one, and I think that even young people who are entirely secure in other relations recognize and would, if they could, disarm the power the other sex has for them. But for adolescent boys, sexual success is not the sole measure of worth. It is assumed that they will grow up and work, that their most important tests will come in areas whose criteria are extrasexual. They can fail with girls without failing entirely, for there remains to them the public life, the male life.

But girls have no such comfort. Sex occupies even the economic center of our lives; it is, we have been brought up to feel, our lives' work. Whatever else she may do, a woman is a failure if she fails to please men. The adolescent girl's situation is by definition dependent: she must attract, and therefore, however she may disguise it, she must compromise the sticky edges of her personality, she must arrange herself to conform with other people's ideas of wfeat is valuable in a woman.

I was early trained to that position, trained, in the traditional manner, by my father. Like many men who are uncomfortable with adult women, my father saw his daughter as a potential antidote to his disappointment in her sex. I was someone who could be molded into a woman com-

patible with his needs, and also, unlike my mother, I was too impressionable to talk back. So I became the vessel into which he fed his opinions about novels and politics and sex; he fed me also his most hopeful self-image. It reached a point where I later suspected him of nourishing a sort of eighteenth-century fantasy about our relationship, the one in which the count teaches his daughter to read Virgil and ride like a man, and she grows up to be the perfect feminine companion, parroting him with such subtlety that it is impossible to tell that her thoughts and feelings, so perfectly coincident with his, are not original. I have three brothers, as it happened, and another sort of man might have chosen one of them to mold. But my father had himself a vast respect for masculine power. Boys grow up and have to kill their fathers, girls can be made to understand their place.

My father in his thirties was an attractive man, he was witty by adult standards and of course doubly so by mine, and he had a verbal facility with which he invariably demolished my mother in arguments. Masculine power in the intellectual classes is exercised verbally: it is the effort of the male supremacist intellectual to make his woman look clumsy and illogical beside him, to render her, as it were, dumb. His tactic is to goad the woman to attack him and then, resorting to rationality, to withdraw himself from the battle. In my childhood experience, subtlety appeared exclusively a masculine weapon. I never saw a woman argue except straightforwardly, and I never saw a woman best a man in a quarrel. My mother tried, but always with the conviction of ultimate failure. She attacked with pinpricks to begin with; in the end, maddened invariably by my father's ostentatious mental absence, she yelled. He was assisted in these struggles by his natural passivity. Withdrawal came easily to him; he hated, as he told us over and over again, scenes. My mother, it seemed to me, was violent, my father cool. And since it also seemed to me that he preferred me, his daughter who never disagreed with him, to his wife who did (that was a fantasy, of course, but one to which my father devoted some effort toward keeping alive), I came to feel that male power, because uncoercible, could only be handled by seduction, and that the most comfortable relation between

men and women was the relation between pupil and teacher, between parent and child.

My father taught me some tricks. From him I learned that it is pleasant and useful to get information from men, pleasant because it is easier than getting it for yourself, and useful because it is seductive: men like to give information and sometimes love the inquirer, if she is pretty and asks intelligently. From him I also learned that women are by definition incapable of serious thought. This was a comforting lesson, although it made me feel obscurely doomed, for if I was to be automatically barred from participation in the life of high intellect, there was no reason why I should work to achieve it, and thinking, after all, is difficult work. When I was fifteen my father told me that I would never be a writer because I wasn't hungry enough, by which I think he meant that there would always be some man to feed me. I accepted his pronouncement as I accepted, at that age, all pronouncements which had an air of finality, and began making other career plans.

My task, it seemed to me, was to find a man in whom there resided enough power to justify my acting the child, that is, to justify my acceptance of my own femininity. For I regarded myself as feminine only in my childlike aspect; when I presented myself as a thinking person I felt entirely sexless. The boys in my class regarded me as an intellectual and showed an almost unanimous disinterest in my company. When I was in the eighth grade I lived in trepidation lest I be cited as class bookworm, and defended myself against that threat by going steady with what surely must have been the dumbest boy in our set. He was no fonder of me than I was of him; we needed each other because you had to be part of a couple in order to get invited to parties.

I did not get the opportunity to demonstrate my skill as a child-woman until I became old enough to go out with college boys. My training had equipped me only to attract intelligent men, and a boy who was no brighter than I held no power for me. But for a man who could act as my teacher I could be submissive and seductive—I felt submissive and seductive; my awe of the male mind translated easily into an awe of the male person.

I was, I realize now, in tune with the demands of my

time. This was in the late fifties, Marilyn Monroe was the feminine archetype of the period, and Marilyn Monroe was sexy because of her childishness. It is not much of a step from seeing oneself as a child in relation to men to seeing oneself as their victim; obviously a child does not control its environment, obviously a child is powerless before adults. All children are potential victims, dependent upon the world's goodwill. My sense of powerlessness, of feminine powerlessness, was so great that for years I trusted no man who had not indicated toward me a special favor, who had not fallen in love with me. And even toward those who had, I acted the victim, preferring to believe myself the one who loved most, for how could a man retain his power in loving me unless I gave it back to him through my submission? Years later I heard a story about how Bob Dylan so tormented a groupy that she jumped out a window while ten people looked on, and recognized the spirit of my adolescence. I never got myself into a situation even comparably extreme, my fundamental self-protectiveness having permitted me to allow only minor humiliations, but the will was there.

Masochism as clinically defined is more or less exclusively a sexual disorder: masochists are people who derive sexual pleasure from pain. Freudian psychiatrists claim that all women are to one degree or another masochistic in the sexual sense (the male penetrates the female, presumably he hurts her, and presumably she enjoys the pain as part of the pleasure), and many Freudian thinkers extend the use of the term out of the area of sex intQ the social area and argue that the womanly woman is correctly masochistic, must be masochistic in order to accept the male domination which is necessarily a part even of her extrasexual life. It seems to me more useful to define masochism, insofar as the word is to be used to describe a nonclinical emotional condition, as the doing of something which one does not enjoy because someone else demands it or even because one's conscience demands it. In this sense clinical masochism can be said to be nonmasochistic: if one enjoys being whipped, one is acting directly upon one's own needs, whereas if one allows oneself to be whipped for someone else's pleasure without deriving any pleasure from the act, one is behaving masochistically. A person who acts upon someone else's will, or in accordance with

someone else's image of her, or who judges herself by someone else's standards, has allowed herself to be made into an object. A masochist, as I define the term, is a person who consents to be made an object. It is in that sense that I think most women are, or have been at some time in their lives, msrsochists. For insofar as a woman lives by the standards of the world, she lives according to the standards set by men. Men have laid down the rules and definitions by which the world is run, and one of the objects of their definitions is woman. Men define intelligence, men define usefulness, men tell us what is beautiful, men even tell us what is womanly. Constance Chatterley was a male invention; Lawrence invented her, I used to think, specifically to make me feel guilty because I didn't have the right kind of orgasms.

Lionel Trilling wrote in an essay on Jane 'Austen that it is the presumption of our society that women's moral life is not as men's, and that therefore we do not expect from women, in fact do not condone in them, the same degree of self-love which we expect and encourage in men. What he meant, I think, was that since women are in a sense given their lives, since women customarily choose a lifestyle by choosing a man rather than a path, they do not need the self-love which is necessary to carry a man to the places he has to go. Self-love is indeed a handicap to a being whose primary function is supportive, for how is a woman adequately to support another ego when her self-love demands the primacy of her own? Women learn in many ways to suppress their selfishness, and by doing so they suppress also their self-esteem. If most men hold women in contempt it is no greater than the contempt in which women hold themselves. Self-love depressed becomes self-loathing. Men are brought up to command, women to seduce: to admit the necessity of seduction is to admit that one has not the strength to command. It is in fact to accept one's own objecthood, to internalize one's oppression.

Still, I picked up some interesting lore from men, while I was studying to please them. I learned about Eliot from one boy, and about Donne from another, and about Coltrane from a third. A lover turned me on to drugs and also showed me how you were supposed to act when you were high—that is, as if you were not high. I was not surprised that he was better at this than me, cool was

beginning to seem more and more a masculine talent, and I had even taken to physical retaliation in arguments, having given up the idea that I would ever win anything by verbal means. I went to Sarah Lawrence instead of Barnard because my boyfriend thought Sarah Lawrence was a more "feminine" school. My parents got divorced and I sided with my father, at least at first, because his appeared to me to be the winning side. Men, I believed, were automatically on the winning side, which was why my oldest brother could afford to withdraw in moral outrage from my father's advances; there was for him no danger of branding himself a loser by consorting with my mother. Yet I envied him his integrity. How could I maintain integrity when I was willing to sell out any principle for the sake of masculine attention?

I went to Sarah Lawrence and got to love it without ever taking it very seriously, which I also supposed was the way the boys I loved in those days felt about me. In fact, Sarah Lawrence appeared to me and to most of my friends there as a sort of symbol of ourselves: like the college, we were pretty and slightly prestigious and terribly self-serious in private, but just as we laughed at the school and felt embarrassed to be identified with it publicly (I always felt that if I had been a real student I would have gone to Barnard), so we laughed publicly at our own aspirations. "I like Nancy," a Princeton boy said to me, "except she always starts talking about Kafka promptly at midnight." And I laughed, god how I laughed, at Nancy—how Sarah Lawrency to carry on about Kafka—and, by implication, at myself. For I too expressed my intellectualism in effusions. Men expected the effusions, even found them charming, while treating them with friendly contempt. It was important to be charming. A passion for Marxism, stumblingly expressed, an interpretation of Moby Dick, these tokens we offered our lovers to prove we were not simply women, but people. Yet though we displayed strong feelings about art and politics, we behaved as if we had not really done the reading. To argue a point logically was to reveal yourself as unfeminine: a man might respect your mind, but he would not love you. Wit, we believed, is frightening in a woman.

In my senior year I met a girl who knew the editor of The Village Voice, and after graduation she got me a job

there. I went to work as a reporter without having the slightest notion of how to conduct an interview and so, to cover myself, I made up a couple of pieces out of whole cloth. They were about drugs and hippies and homosexuals, the sort of scene pieces The Voice later specialized in, but nobody much was writing about that stuff in 1964, and I got several book offers and invitations to cocktail parties, and my father's friends started writing me letters full of sports analogies, saying it was time I entered a main event. In fact, I felt terribly guilty about writing those pieces because they seemed frivolous and sensationalistic, the sort of thing empty-headed girl reporters did when they were too dumb to write about politics, but on the other hand they got me attention, which writing about politics would never have done. I agonized all summer, publicly and privately, over this dilemma, often spending hours telling big strong male reporters how unworthy I felt. They seemed to like it.

I had never thought of myself as ambitious; actually, I think I was too convinced of my basic incompetence to be constructively ambitious, but I quickly saw that a lady journalist has advantages denied to men. For one thing, she never has to pick up a check. For another thing, if she is even remotely serious, people praise her work much more than they would praise the work of a comparably talented man; they are amazed that a woman can write coherently on any subject not confined in interest to the readers of a woman's magazine. And finally, people tell her things they would not tell a man. Many men think the secrets they tell a woman are automatically off the record. They forget that the young woman hanging on their every word is taking it all down—often they confuse her attention with sexual interest. (That is not such an advantage. Some men, rock stars for instance, simply assumed that sex was what I had come for. They would expend a little flattery to assure me that they regarded me as a cut above other groupies, and then they would suggest that we get down to balling. They were often nasty when I refused.)

At any rate, the work was nice, and it gave me a higher status as a sexual object than I had ever had before. But it was also scary. If I was to do well at it I had to take it seriously, and the strongest belief I had retained from my childhood was my idea that nothing I could achieve was worth taking seriously. In the autumn of 1964 I fell in

love with a boy who was not sure he was in love with me, and by the time he decided he was, I had quit my job and moved with him to Boston. He styled himself a revolutionary and thought the content of my work hardly worth the effort it took to produce it; I accepted his opinion with relief, telling myself that in any case I had not the emotional energy to handle both a lover and a job. My feeling for him evaporated fairly soon after I discovered that it was reciprocated, though I lived with him for several months after that, partly out of guilt and partly because living with a man made me feel grown-up in a way holding a job never could have done. But finally I left him and took a job as a staff writer on a national magazine, a classy job but underpaid. Instead of complaining about the salary, I took to not showing up for work, justifying my laziness by telling myself that I was selling out anyway by taking an uptown job and that the sooner I rid myself of it, the sooner I would regain my integrity.

In the meantime I had met a grown-up man who was powerful and smart and knocked out by my child act. We spent a few months seducing each other—"You're too young for me," he would say, and I would climb upon his lap, figuratively speaking, and protest that I was not. It was no more disgusting than most courtships. In the end we got married.

Of course, I had to marry a grown-up, a father figure if you will, and my husband, as it turned out, had to marry a child. That is, he had to have an intelligent woman, but one whose intelligence had been, as it were, castrated by some outside circumstances. My youth served that purpose; my other handicaps had not as yet emerged.

Anyway, our romantic personae lasted about a year. For a year he was kind to me and listened to my problems and put up with the psychosomatic diseases which marriage had induced in me, and for a year I brought joy and spontaneity into his drab grown-up existence. Then he began to get tired of being a father and I to resent being a child, and we began to act out what I think is a classic example of contemporary marriage.

It had turned out, I realized with horror, that I had done exactly what middle-class girls are supposed to do. I had worked for a year in the communications industry, and my glamorous job had enabled me to meet a respectable, hard-

working man who made a lot of money at his glamorous job, and I had settled down (stopped screwing around) and straightened myself out (went into analysis), and all that was missing was babies. I defended myself by assuming that we would be divorced in a year, and sneered a lot at Design Research furniture and the other symbols of middle-class marriage, but still I could not escape the feeling that I had fallen not just into a trap but into a cliche. On the other hand, I loved my husband, and I was still a writer, that is to say, a privileged woman with a life of her own. I could afford, as I began to at that time, to read feminist literature without really applying it to my own situation.

My husband, although he is nice to women, is a male supremacist, very much in the style of Norman Mailer. That is, he invests women with more or less mystical powers of control over the inner workings of the world, but thinks that feminine power is strongest when exercised in child-rearing and regards contraception as unnatural. When I had my first stirrings of feminist grievance, he pronounced the subject a bore; I used to follow him from room to room, torturing him with my recitals of the sexist atrocities I was beginning to find in my favorite novels, and when I complained that magazines were paying me less than they paid men, he accused me of trying to blame the world for my own crazy passivity. But we were engaged at that time in the usual internal power struggle, and my feminism seemed to both of us more an intellectual exercise than a genuine commitment. It was not until many months later that he began to accuse me of hating men.

We already knew that he hated women, even that he had good reasons for hating women, but I had up to that time put on such a good display of being cuddly, provocative, sexually uninhibited and altogether unlike those other women that the subject of my true feelings about men had never come up. He knew that I had a compulsion to seduce men, which argues a certain distrust of them, but as the seductions, since our marriage, were always intellectual rather than sexual, they could, if you didn't want to consider their implications, be put down simply to insecurity. I don't think even I realized how I felt. Once I told my husband about a rigmarole a friend and I had made up to dismiss men we didn't like—we would go through lists of names, pointing our fingers and saying, "Zap, you're sterile,"

and then collapse into giggles; my husband, who has a psychoanalytical turn of mind, thought that was Terribly Revealing and I agreed that it was, but so what? And also, I agreed that it was Terribly Revealing that I liked to pinch and bite him, that I made small hostile jokes and took an almost malicious pleasure in becoming too involved in work to pay attention to him (but only briefly; I never for very long attempted to work when he had other plans), that I would go into weeklong depressions during which the bed never got made nor the dishes washed. But the degree of my hostility didn't reveal itself to me until a pattern began to emerge around our quarrels.

We had, since early in the marriage, periodically engaged in bitter fights. Because my husband was the stronger, and because he tends to be judgmental, they usually started when he attempted to punish me (by withdrawing, of course) for some offense. I would dispute the validity of his complaint, and the quarrel would escalate into shouts and blows and then into decisions to terminate the marriage. In the first year my husband always beat me hollow in those battles. I used to dissolve into tears and beg his forgiveness after 20 minutes; I could not bear his rejection and I had no talent at all for conducting a quarrel. I won only when I succeeded in making him feel guilty; if he behaved badly enough, I automatically achieved the moral upper hand for at least a week following the quarrel. But after a while, the honeymoon being over, he began to refuse to feel guilty and I began to resent his superior force. Things rested there until, in the third year of our marriage, we went to live in Los Angeles because of my husband's work. During the year we spent away from home I found that I could not work, and that he was always working, and we suddenly found ourselves frozen into the textbook attitudes of male-female opposition. We fought continually, and always about the same things. He accused me of making it impossible for him to work, I accused him of keeping me dangling, dependent upon him for all emotional sustenance, he accused me of spending too much money and of keeping the house badly, I accused him of expecting me continually to subordinate my needs to his. The difficulty, I realized over and over again without being able to do much about it, was that I had gotten myself into the classic housewife's position: I was living in a place I didn't want to be, and

seeing people I didn't like because that was where my man was, I was living my husband's life and I hated him for it. And the reason this was so was that I was economically dependent upon him; having ceased to earn my living I could no longer claim the breadwinner's right to attention for my special needs.

My husband told me that I was grown-up now, twenty-six years old, there were certain realities which I had to face. He was the head of the household: I had never questioned that. He had to fulfill himself: I had never questioned that. He housed and fed me and paid for my clothes, he respected my opinions and refused all his opportunities to make love to other women, and my part of the bargain should have become clear to me by now. In exchange for those things, I was supposed to keep his house and save his money and understand that if he worked 16 hours a day for a year, it was no more than necessary for his self-fulfillment. Which was all quite true. Except that it was also necessary for his fulfillment that I should be there for those few hours when he had time for me, and not complain about the hours when he did not, and that I should adapt myself to his situation or else end the marriage. It never occurred to him to consider adapting himself to mine, and it never occurred to me. I only knew that his situation was bad for me, was alien, was in fact totally paralyzing, that it kept me from working, that it made me more unhappy than I had been in my life.

I knew that I was being selfish. But he was being selfish also, the only difference being that his selfishness was somehow all right, while mine was inexcusable. Selfishness was a privilege I had earned for a while by being a writer, that is, a person who had by male standards a worthwhile place to spend her time. As soon as I stopped functioning as a writer I became to my husband and to everyone else a mere woman, somebody whose time was valueless, somebody who had no excuse for a selfish preoccupation with her own wants.

I used to lie in bed beside my husband after those fights and wish I had the courage to bash in his head with a frying pan. I would do it while he slept, since awake he would overpower me, disarm me. If only I dared, I would mutter to myself through clenched teeth, pushing back the realization that I didn't dare not because I was afraid of seriously

hurting him—I would have loved to do that—but because even in the extremity of my anger I was afraid that if I cracked his head with a frying pan, he would leave me. God, how absurd it was (god, how funny, I would mutter to myself, how amusing, oh wow, what a joke) that my whole life's effort had been directed toward keeping men from leaving me, toward placating them, submitting to them, demanding love from them in return for living in their style, and it all ended with me lying awake in the dark hating my husband, hating my father, hating all the men I had ever known. Probably I had always hated them. What I couldn't figure out was whether I hated them because I was afraid they would leave me or whether I was afraid they would leave me because I hated them.

Because one cannot for very long support such a rage without beginning to go crazy, I tried to think of the problem in political terms. It seemed to me too easy to say that my hatred for men was a true class hatred, that women hate men because women are an oppressed class hungering for freedom. And yet wherever there exists the display of power.there is politics, and in women's relations with men there is a continual transfer of power, there is, continually, politics. There are political analogies even to our deepest, our most banal fantasies. Freud maintains that the female terror of the penis is a primary fear, and that the male fear of castration by the vagina is merely a retaliatory fantasy, a guilty fear of punishment. The serf fears the overlord's knout, the overlord, guilty, fears the serfs revenge. Women are natural guerrillas. Scheming, we nestle into the enemy's bed, avoiding open warfare, watching the options, playing the odds. High, and made paranoiac by his observance of my rage, my husband has the fantasy of woman with a knife. He sees her in sexual ecstasy with her eyes open to observe the ecstasy of her partner, with her consciousness awake, her consciousness the knife. It had often been my private boast that even in moments of greatest abandon, I always kept some part of my mind awake: I always searched for clues. Is he mine now, this monster? Have I disarmed him, and for how long? Men are beasts, we say, joking, parodying the Victorian rag, and then realize to our surprise that we believe it. The male has force almost beyond our overpowering, the force of laws, of science, of litera-

ture, the force of mathematics and skyscrapers and the Queensboro Bridge; the penis is only its symbol. We cannot share men's pride in the world they have mastered. If you follow that symbolism to its conclusion, we are ourselves that conquered world.

It is because they know that this is true, know it in their bones if not in their heads, that men fear the hatred of women. For women are the true maintenance class. Society is built upon their acquiescence, and upon their small and necessary labors. Restricted to the supportive role, conditioned to excel only at love, women hold for men the key to social order. It is a Marxist truism that the original exploitation, the enslavement which set the pattern for everything which came later, was the enslavement of women by men. Even the lowest worker rests upon the labor of his wife. Where no other claim to distinction exists, a man defines himself by his difference from the supportive sex; he may be a less than admirable man, but at least he is a man, at least he is not a woman.

And if women have fought, they have fought as guerrillas, in small hand-to-hand skirmishes, in pillow wars upon the marriage bed. When they attack frontally, when they come together in groups to protest their oppression, they raise psychic questions so profound as to be almost inadmissable. In E. E. Cummings' play Him, there is a scene in which two women sit in a Paris cafe and order men served up to them like plats du jour; it is an inexpressibly sinister sequence, and it has its counterparts elsewhere in the avant-garde literature of the twenties. I do not imagine that Cummings approved of men using women like meat, but I am quite sure that he could not have treated the situation with such horror had the sexual roles been reversed. Cummings, like Leonid Andreyev and the other modernists who dealt in surreal images of female dominance, was writing during the early period of feminist protest, and I think they were expressing a fear basic to every man confronted with the idea of women's liberation. When men imagine a female uprising they imagine a world in which women rule men as men have ruled women: their guilt, which is the guilt of every ruling class, will allow them to see no middle ground. And it is a measure of the unconscious strength of our belief in natural male dominance that all of us, men and

women, revolt from the image of woman with a whip, that the female sadist is one of our most deep-rooted images of perversion.

And although I believe this male fantasy of feminine equality as a euphemism for feminine dominance to be evidence of the oppressor's neurosis rather than of any supporting fact, it was part of the character of my resentment that I once fancied wresting power from men as though nothing less than total annihilation would satisfy my rage. The true dramatic conclusion of this narrative should be the dissolution of my marriage; there is a part of me which believes that you cannot fight a sexist system while acknowledging your need for the love of a man, and perhaps if I had had the courage finally to tear apart my life, I could write you about my hardworking independence, about my solitary self-respect, about the new society I hope to build. But in the end my husband and I did not divorce, although it seemed at one time as if we would. Instead I raged against him for many months and joined the woman's liberation movement, and thought a great deal about myself, and about whether my problems were truly all women's problems, and decided that some of them were and that some of them were not. My sexual rage was the most powerful single emotion of my life, and the feminist analysis has become for me, as I think it will for most women of my generation, as significant an intellectual tool as Marxism was for generations of radicals. But it does not answer every question. To discover that something has been wrong is not necessarily to make it right: I would be lying if I said that my anger had taught me how to live. But my life has changed because of it. I think I am becoming in many small ways a woman who takes no shit. I am no longer submissive, no longer seductive; perhaps it is for that reason that my husband tells me sometimes that I have become hard, and that my hardness is unattractive. I would like it to be otherwise. I think that will take a long time.

My husband and I have to some degree worked out our differences; we are trying to be together as equals, to separate our human needs from the needs imposed upon us by our sex roles. But my hatred lies within me and between us, not wholly a personal hatred, but not entirely political either. And I wonder always whether it is possible, to define myself as a feminist revolutionary and still remain

in any sense a wife. There are moments when I still worry that he will leave me, that he will come to need a woman less preoccupied with her own rights, and when I worry about that, I also fear that no man will ever love me again, that no man could ever love a woman who is angry. And that fear is a great source of trouble to me, for it means that in certain fundamental ways I have not changed at all.

I would like to be cold and clear and selfish, to demand satisfaction for my needs, to compel respect rather than affection. And yet there are moments, and perhaps there always will be, when I fall back upon the old cop-outs. Why should I trouble to win a chess game or a political argument when it is so much easier to lose charmingly? Why should I work when my husband can support me, why should I be a human being when I can get away with being a child?

Woman's liberation is finally only personal. It is hard to fight an enemy who has outposts in your head.

What It Would Be Like If Women Win

GLORIA STEINEM

Any change is fearful, especially one affecting both politics and sex roles, so let me begin these Utopian speculations with a fact. To break the ice.

Women don't want to exchange places with men. Male chauvinists, science-fiction writers and comedians may favor that idea for its shock value, but psychologists say it is a fantasy based on ruling-class ego and guilt. Men assume that women want to imitate them, which is just what white people assumed about blacks. An assumption so strong that it may convince the second-class group of the need to imitate, but for both women and blacks that stage has passed. Guilt produces the question: What if they could treat us as we have treated them?

That is not our goal. But we do want to change the

economic system to one more based on merit. In Women's Lib Utopia, there will be free access to good jobs—and decent pay for the bad ones women have been performing all along, including housework. Increased skilled labor might lead to a four-hour workday, and higher wages would encourage further mechanization of repetitive jobs now kept alive by cheap labor.

With women as half the country's elected representatives, and a woman President once in a while, the country's machismo problems would be greatly reduced. The old-fashioned idea that manhood depends on violence and victory is, after all, an important part of our troubles in the streets, and in Vietnam. I'm not saying that women leaders would eliminate violence. We are not more moral than men; we are only uncorrupted by power so far. When we do acquire power, we might turn out to have an equal impulse toward aggression. Even now, Margaret Mead believes that women fight less often but more fiercely than men, because women are not taught the rules of the war game and fight only when cornered. But for the next 50 years or so, women in politics will be very valuable by tempering the idea of manhood into something less aggressive and better suited to this crowded, post-atomic planet. Consumer protection and children's rights, for instance, might get more legislative attention.

Men will have to give up ruling-class privileges, but in return they will no longer be the only ones to support the family, get drafted, bear the strain of power and responsibility. Freud to the contrary, anatomy is not destiny, at least not for more than nine months at a time. In Israel, women are drafted, and some have gone to war. In England, more men type and run switchboards. In India and Israel, a woman rules. In Sweden, both parents take care of the children. In this country, come Utopia, men and women won't reverse roles; they will be free to choose according to individual talents and preferences.

If role reform sounds sexually unsettling, think how it will change the sexual hypocrisy we have now. No more sex arranged on the barter system, with women pretending interest, and men never sure whether they are loved for themselves or for the security few women can get any other way. (Married or not, for sexual reasons or social ones,

most women still find it second nature to Uncle-Tom.) No more men who are encouraged to spend a lifetime living with inferiors; with housekeepers, or dependent creatures who are still children. No more domineering wives, emasculating women, and "Jewish mothers," all of whom are simply human beings with all their normal ambition and drive confined to the home. No more unequal partnerships that eventually doom love and sex.

In order to produce that kind of confidence and individuality, child-rearing will train according to talent. Little girls will no longer be surrounded by airtight, self-fulfilling prophecies of natural passivity, lack of ambition and objectivity, inability to exercise power, and dexterity (so long as special aptitude for jobs requiring patience and dexterity is confined to poorly paid jobs; brain surgery is for males).

Schools and universities will help to break down traditional sex roles, even when parents will not. Half the teachers will be men, a rarity now at preschool and elementary levels; girls will not necessarily serve cookies or boys hoist up the flag. Athletic teams will be picked only by strength and skill. Sexually segregated courses like auto mechanics and home economics will be taken by boys and girls together. New courses in sexual politics will explore female subjugation as the model for political oppression, and women's history will be an academic staple, along with black history, at least until the white-male-oriented textbooks are integrated and rewritten.

As for the American child's classic problem—too much mother, too little father—that would be cured by an equalization of parental responsibility. Free nurseries, school lunches, family cafeterias built into every housing complex, service companies that will do household cleaning chores in a regular, businesslike way, and more responsibility by the entire community for the children: all these will make it possible for both mother and father to work, and to have equal leisure time with the children at home. For parents of very young children, however, a special job category, created by government and unions, would allow such parents a shorter workday.

The revolution would not take away the option of being a housewife. A woman who prefers to be her husband's

housekeeper and/or hostess would receive a percentage of his pay determined by the domestic-relations courts. If divorced, she might be eligible for a pension fund, and for a job-training allowance. Or a divorce could be treated the same way that the dissolution of a business partnership is now.

If these proposals seem farfetched, consider Sweden, where most of them are already in effect. Sweden is not yet a working women's lib model; most of the role-reform programs began less than a decade ago, and are just beginning to take hold. But that country is so far ahead of us in recognizing the problem that Swedish statements on sex and equality sound like bulletins from the moon.

Our marriage laws, for instance, are so reactionary that women's lib groups want couples to take a compulsory written exam on the law, as for a driver's license, before going through with the wedding. A man has alimony and wifely debts to worry about, but a woman may lose so many of her civil rights that in the U.S. now, in important legal ways, she becomes a child again. In some states, she cannot sign credit agreements, use her maiden name, incorporate a business, or establish a legal residence of her own. Being a wife, according to most social and legal definitions, is still a nineteenth-century thing.

Assuming, however, that these blatantly sexist laws are abolished or reformed, that job discrimination is forbidden, that parents share financial responsibility for each other and the children, and that sexual relationships become partnerships of equal adults (some pretty big assumptions), then marriage will probably go right on. Men and women are, after all, physically complementary. When society stops encouraging men to be exploiters and women to be parasites, they may turn out to be more complementary in emotion as well. Women's lib is not trying to destroy the American family. A look at the statistics on divorce—plus the way in which old people are farmed out with strangers and young people flee the home—shows the destruction that has already been done. Liberated women are just trying to point out the disaster, and build compassionate and practical alternatives from the ruins.

What will exist is a variety of alternative life-styles. Since the population explosion dictates that childbearing be

kept to a minimum, parents-and-children will be only one of many "families": couples, age groups, working groups, mixed communes, blood-related clans, class groups, creative groups. Single women will have the right to stay single without ridicule, without the attitudes now betrayed by "spinster" and "bachelor." Lesbians or homosexuals will no longer be denied legally binding marriages, complete with mutual-support agreements and inheritance rights. Paradoxically, the number of homosexuals may get smaller. With fewer overpossessive mothers and fewer fathers who hold up an impossibly cruel or perfectionist idea of manhood, boys will be less likely to be denied or reject their identity as males.

Changes that now seem small may get bigger:

Men's lib. Men now suffer from more diseases due to stress, heart attacks, ulcers, a higher suicide rate, greater difficulty living alone, less adaptability to change and, in general, a shorter life-span than women. There is some scientific evidence that what produces physical problems is not work itself, but the inability to choose which work, and how much. With women bearing half the financial responsibility, and with the idea of "masculine" jobs gone, men might well feel freer and live longer.

Religion. Protestant women are already becoming ordained ministers; radical nuns are carrying out liturgical functions that were once the exclusive property of priests; Jewish women are rewriting prayers—particularly those that Orthodox Jews recite every morning thanking God they are not female. In the future, the church will become an area of equal participation by women. This means, of course, that organized religion will have to give up one of its great historical weapons: sexual repression. In most structured faiths, from Hinduism through Roman Catholicism, the status of women went down as the position of priests ascended. Male clergy implied, if they did not teach, that women were unclean, unworthy and sources of ungodly temptation, in order to remove them as rivals for the emotional forces of men. Full participation of women in ecclesiastical life might involve certain changes in theology, such as, for instance, a radical redefinition of sin.

Literary problems. Revised sex roles will outdate more children's books than civil rights ever did. Only a few children had the problem of a Little Black Sambo, but

most have the male-female stereotypes of "Dick and Jane." A boomlet of children's books about mothers who work has already begun, and liberated parents and editors are beginning to pressure for change in the textbook industry. Fiction writing will change more gradually, but romantic novels with wilting heroines and swashbuckling heroes will be reduced to historical value. Or perhaps to the sadomasochist trade. (Marjorie Morningstar, a romantic novel that took the 1950s by storm, has already begun to seem as unreal as its 1920s predecessor, The Sheik.) As for the literary plots that turn on forced marriages or horrific abortions, they will seem as dated as Prohibition stories. Free legal abortions and free birth control will force writers to give up pregnancy as the deus ex machina.

Manners and fashion. Dress will be more androgynous, with class symbols becoming more important than sexual ones. Pro- or anti-Establishment styles may already be more vital than who is wearing them. Hardhats are just as likely to rough up antiwar girls as antiwar men in the street, and police understand that women are just as likely to be pushers or bombers. Dances haven't required that one partner lead the other for years, anyway. Chivalry will transfer itself to those who need it, or deserve respect: old people, admired people, anyone with an armload of packages. Women with normal work identities will be less likely to attach their whole sense of self to youth and appearance; thus there will be fewer nervous breakdowns when the first wrinkles appear. Lighting cigarettes and other treasured niceties will become gestures of mutual affection. "I like to be helped on with my coat," says one women's lib worker, "but not if it costs me $2,000 a year in salary."

For those with nostalgia for a simpler past, here is a word of comfort. Anthropologist Geoffrey Gorer studied the few peaceful human tribes and discovered one common characteristic: sex roles were not polarized. Differences of dress and occupation were at a minimum. Society, in other words, was not using sexual blackmail as a way of getting women to do cheap labor, or men to be aggressive.

Thus women's lib may achieve a more peaceful society on the way toward its other goals. That is why the Swedish government considers reform to bring about greater equality in the sex roles one of its most important concerns. As

Prime Minister Olof Palme explained in a widely ignored speech delivered in Washington this spring [1970]: "It is human beings we shall emancipate. In Sweden today, if a politician should declare that the woman ought to have a different role from man's, he would be regarded as something from the Stone Age." In other words, the most radical goal of the movement is egalitarianism.

If women's lib wins, perhaps we all do.

II. Discrimination on the Job

Women are the cheap labor force in this society, the last to be hired, the first to be fired. Contrary to "pin money" and "women's place is in the home" myths, millions of us are working not for luxuries, but for survival.

Nothing makes clearer the discrimination against women on the job than the following table showing women's median income as compared to men's1:

WHITE WOMEN	NONWHITE WOMEN	WHITE MEN	NONWHITE MEN
$4,152	$2,949	$7,164	$4,528

Thirty-eight percent of mothers with children under eighteen work. The fact that the median age of a woman worker (forty) differs from that of a man (forty-one) by only one year shows that women, like men, tend to work as part of a fairly consistent, serious life pattern.

The education we receive continues to channel us into menial service roles, and most of us work as secretaries, nurses,' domestics, and factory workers. Those who go on for higher education discover that a bachelor's or master's degree is no substitute on the job market for typing skills. Women who become professionals are the rare exception and not the rule.

Those of us in women's liberation who have experienced collective work have experienced liberation

1 Statistics are from the 1969 Handbook on Women Workers (Bulletin 294 of the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor, Washington, D. C. 20210; may be ordered free).

in work for the first time in our lives. By each of us collectively learning and sharing in all aspects of the work which has to be done, in a totally nonauthoritarian, nonbureaucratic atmosphere, we have been able to do things we never believed we were capable of doing. There has been no loss of "individuality"; rather, we have found a new sense of respect for ourselves and each other, and new ways to grow. If this idea of mutual respect, mutual teaching and learning, mutual sharing in the rewards of our efforts were extended to include the larger society, there would be no need for the "bosses" who control our lives. In offices, factories, wherever we work, there would be no reason for some people to do the drudge work while others did the "brain work" and ordering around. We would not be placed in a position where we would see our co-workers as "the enemy" or competition. All people are capable of thinking and creating, and all of us should share in the drudge work.

The different kinds of deadening and dehumanizing work most women must now do and the unfairness they encounter on the job are the subjects of the selections in this section.

Job Discrimination and What Women Can Do About It

ALICE S. ROSSI

It is extremely difficult to obtain data on the operation and incidence of job discrimination against women. Employers do not put up signs saying "No women need apply" even when this is the unstated policy of their gatekeeping personnel managers. Some women are unaware that their ambitions are being arbitrarily thwarted, and many others are reluctant to discuss the painful and infuriating encounters they have had with job discrimination. Those of us who research and write about the status of women, or who are active in women's rights organizations, frequently hear confidential stories of women's experiences with discrimination in the job world.

My own files of such accounts have expanded enormously in recent years as a result of the growing concern for and assertiveness of women on this issue. Here are only a few illustrations, in the words of the women themselves, of certain types of discrimination that they have experienced. An engineering student at M.I.T. reports:

> For years I have had to fight to retain my interest in aeronautics. My high school teacher thought I was crazy to even think of going into aeronautical engineering. My mother said I'd never find a man willing to marry a woman who likes to "tinker with motors," as she put it. My professors say I won't get a job in industry and should switch to another engineering specialty.

A graduate student in musicology writes:

> All through college my professors tried to push me toward the good old reliable field of teaching music

at the grade school level. I have resisted this, but it wasn't easy, and I know many women who just gave up and are now teaching at the lower grade level instead of becoming a composer, musician, or musicologist.

An older woman who returned to the university to work toward a doctorate in economics after years in business reported:

My first day in graduate school I was greeted with the comment of an economics professor: "Women have no place in economics." He refused to mark the papers of the women students. We protested to the department but they upheld the prerogative of the faculty. The man in question was a visiting professor and they didn't want to "impose on him"! Never mind the effect on the women students!

These quotes all illustrate attempts on the part of parents and teachers to depress and redirect women away from their chosen professional ambitions. By far the larger emphasis in both my research and correspondence files concerns the experience of women in the job world itself. One woman who worked for a year in an architectural firm wrote:

I never wanted to teach grade school children, which I am doing now. But I found so much prejudice and resentment against me in my first job in an architectural firm, where the men refused to take me seriously, that I couldn't take it. I left and switched to teaching art. At least I feel welcome in a school.

A woman interested in a career in college administration writes:

I had the experience last year of seeing a job I had filled for two years upgraded when it was filled by a man, at double the salary I was paid for the same work. College-trained women are lumped with the secretarial and clerical staff, while college-trained men are seen as potential executives. A few years of this

and everybody is behaving according to what is expected of them, not what they are capable of.

The reaction of these two women to covert discrimination against them was a quiet acceptance: one withdrew to another field, the other fumed but stayed put in her low-status administrative job. The next example shows goal restriction in the process of formation. Looking back on her three years of job experience since she graduated from college, one woman said:

I've learned a lot of hard lessons since I left college. A woman must be competent in her present position, but she must not aspire to a higher one. If it is offered to her, she must show surprise and gratitude. If she shows ambition, the competition and general disdain toward women executives will cost her social acceptance. For a single woman, that social acceptance is important. I used to aim much higher than I do now, but I have learned the game, and try to accept the level at which women seem to be kept, without feeling too bitter about it all.

The net effect of such discouragement is expressed by an academic woman who has adopted the compliant female stance:

Ask a man's opinion about your ideas, show gratitude for his help, make your points as questions, listen with respect and interest to his ideas, and in this way you may be accepted. Even the most insecure type of male will not resent your achievements if you are quiet about them.

What this woman does not realize is that she is caught in the "damned if you do and damned if you don't" vise typical of the situation of many women in professional fields. If they are vital and assertive, they are rejected as "aggressive bitches out to castrate men." If they are quiet and unassuming, they are rejected as "unlikely to amoflht to much." Women who try to ease their acceptance by male colleagues in a masculine profession with sweetness-and-light talk may be kept on in the particular low-status

niche they occupy, but then find that they are rejected for promotion because they lack drive and ambition.

The women quoted thus far share a common characteristic: they experienced discrimination and did nothing about it. The devices used to keep them down are various forms of ridicule, social rejection, bypassing them to promote less competent men, or subtle forms of lowering their expectations. If supervisors express surprise when women do a job well and give a shrug of "What can you expect" when they do a mediocre job, and this is repeated often enough, many women eventually internalize these expectations and perform accordingly.

Fortunately, not all women have this reaction to discriminatory attempts to block their movement into "masculine" or administrative jobs. Some women do the bypassing themselves, by leaving the employers who prevent their advancement and setting themselves up as independent entrepreneurs. One woman with a degree in meteorological engineering gives this account of her career:

I'm self-employed now. I am the boss, and no one can fire me. But it was a tough fight. When I graduated from M.I.T. I was told I'd never get anywhere in my field. But my advice to young women now is "don't listen to anybody's advice." When I found I was blocked from advancement in one firm, I simply took a job with another. Finally I reached a vice-presidency but found I couldn't become president there. I decided to leave and build my own firm. Now I have just that, and a client list of 100 firms we service as engineering consultants.

Another woman started out with a doctorate in education and tried to make her way in several business firms. She writes:

As one of the few female presidents of public companies in the United States, I have had my share of battling with the male ego in the business world. After six years of being denied various professional positions because of my sex, I finally decided that the only way for a woman to succeed in business was to start her own company. My firm was incorporated last

year, with big ideas and no money. Today it is a public company worth about five million dollars.

Nor has this woman executive forgotten the early difficulties she had as a woman in a man's world, for she goes on to explain:

Half of my management staff is composed of young, brilliant women who are successfully combining their roles as wives, mothers, and professionals.

Not all women have either the qualities, the contacts, or the occupational interests appropriate to such shifts from a salaried employee to a self-employed business executive as these two women. They do, however, have numerical strength, and a growing number of women's rights organizations to assist them in tackling all levels of discrimination in employment. One of the most important legal assists in this regard is Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which includes a sex-discrimination ban. The ban against sex discrimination was submitted as an amendment by Rules Committee Chairman Howard W. Smith of Virginia and adopted with strong Southern support, despite opposition by the U. S. Department of Labor and the objection by House Judiciary Committee Chairman Emanuel Celler that it was "illogical, ill-timed, ill-placed, and improper." It is widely believed that Southern support for the amendment was an attempt to hamstring the agency which would administer the title by taking resources and energy away from its handling of race-discrimination cases. It did not seem to be recognized by anyone at the time that at least half of the potential cases of racial discrimination could not be effectively handled without a sex-discrimination ban, since they would involve Negro women, many of whom report, as did Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm and lawyer Pauli Murray recently, that they have experienced far more discrimination on the grounds of sex than of race.

In its annual report in 1967, the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) stated that well over a third of the complaints it received and analyzed in the first year of operations alleged discrimination based on sex, and many of its most difficult cases involved sex discrimination. Of the 2,432 cases of sex discrimination filed and analyzed

by the EEOC in fiscal year 1966, the major problems, by order of frequency, were as follows: benefitslayoff, recall, and seniority; state labor laws for women, particularly restrictions on overtime work by women; job classification; hiring, of which complaints by women exceed complaints by men by a ratio of 4 to 1; promotion; and wage differentials.

Watching the early operation of the EEOC, the National Organization for Women (NOW) charged that the commission was hampered by vacancies on its staff, by the absence of women in top positions on the commission staff, and by a reluctance among some of its male members to combat sex discrimination as vigorously as they sought to combat racial discrimination. Generally speaking, the commission has been slow to act on sex-discrimination issues. In his review of the role of the federal government in promoting equal opportunity in employment and training, Richard Nathan {Jobs and Civil Rights, 1969) concluded that when the commission did act, it tended to take positions which were short on specifics, leaving for subsequent cases the precise interpretation of Title VII. On state protective laws, the commission first prohibited firms from refusing women jobs merely because state laws required special conditions for employment different from those for men, without spelling out any specific guidelines. Ten months later (1966) the commission reversed itself, ruling that all state protective law cases should be taken to the courts. In 1967 the commission again switched its position, claiming that it can hold that Title VII superseded state protective laws.

Court cases contesting the legality of state protective laws have been on the increase. In one important case, three women employees were fired by their Colgate-Palmolive employers on the ground that the law prevented women from lifting weights in excess of 35 pounds and the firm was replacing the women with men. The women first lost their case (Sellers et al. v. Colgate-Palmolive) in the Federal District Court for the Southern District of Indiana, but went on to win an appeal in the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 7th Circuit (Chicago) in 1969. The court reviewing the appeal ruled that the lower court's decision was "based on a misconception of the requirements of Title VII's anti-discrimination provisions."

The Court further ordered that Colgate had to notify all its workers that each of them who desired to do so would ^be given an opportunity to demonstrate ability to perform more strenuous jobs. When it is realized that on jobs previously reserved for men at the Indiana Colgate plant men were paid at wage rates which began at the highest rate payable to women, it is apparent that the effect of the court ruling is to give women equal opportunity to bid for better-paying jobs on the basis of their individual capabilities and desires, and to prohibit their exclusion from these jobs because of sex. It was a victory for the Colgate women workers in the case, for all women in industrial jobs, and for the volunteer women attorneys who represented the women workers (Human Rights for Women, Inc., Washington, D.C.).

One of the most pressing needs for legal change at the moment is to amend Section 702 of Title VII to exclude the current exemption of discrimination in the employment of teachers and administrative personnel of educational institutions. Teaching, from preschool through graduate and professional schools, is the single largest occupation college-trained American women enter, yet there is no federal legislation to protect women teachers against discrimination based on their sex. Teaching is also the career field in which women have been losing ground during the past several decades: the proportion of women secondary-school teachers has declined from 68 percent of the total in the 1920s to 46 percent in 1966; the proportion of college and university women teachers has declined from 28 percent in 1940 to 22 percent in 1966; at the administrative level, women had been 55 percent of the elementary-school principals in the early 1920s but were only 22 percent by 1966. It is imperative that women's employment rights in the teaching profession be protected and expanded by amending Title VII of the Civil Rights Act to cover educational personnel.

A second urgently needed amendment to Title VII is the inclusion of a prohibition against discrimination based on marital status. Whether an individual is single, married, divorced, or widowed is no proper concern of an employer, nor is it relevant to job performance if a spouse, a parent, or a sibling is already an employee, Rules against the hiring

of married women whose husbands work in the same school or department of a college or university are among the greatest barriers to career opportunity and advancement among women teachers. It is a fact of social life that women marry men who live and study in their immediate environment. Propinquity sets the range within which mates are chosen at all levels of society. For the better-educated segments of the population, this fact of mate selection means an increased probability that women headed for academic teaching and research careers meet and marry men headed for the same careers. No other single topic is the subject of as much concern among graduate students and young faculty women as this question of whether and where a husband and wife can find and keep jobs when their training is in the same general field.

Some gains have been made in this respect, for there are now some outstanding couples who have joint appointments in the same department at the same university. The fact that it takes an "outstanding" pair is, however, an index of how far from solved the general problem is. So long as the women or the couples must be "exceptional" to qualify for the treatment that is automatically accorded to "average" men in the teaching profession, the problem is essentially unsolved.

It is still a rare occurrence for women to assert themselves and protest their exclusion from consideration for teaching and research positions on the grounds of marital status. It is a hopeful sign that the Equal Rights Division of the Department of Industry, Labor, and Human Relations in Wisconsin recently informed the University of Wisconsin (in response to complaints filed by married women) that "the imposition of a rule barring husband and wife from the same department will be regarded as sex discrimination when the marital relationship is unrelated to the job and the ability of the woman to perform." But more women will have to become much more aggressive than they are at present if equal opportunity in employment is to be achieved.

One of the things they could and must do during 1970 is to mount a concerted campaign to make sure that the bills currently pending in Congress to amend Title VII are supplemented with sections that assure coverage of educational institutions under the terms of the Civil Rights Act

barring sex discrimination, and that prohibit discrimination based on marital status. Neither of these two extensions is among the proposed amendments pending in Congress.

Women have a precarious hold on positions in the labor market. Like the blacks and the very young, they have traditionally been the expendable portion of the labor force which employers have been free to woo or reject in accordance with fluctuations in production, sales, patient, client, or student load. Only 40 percent of employed women work full time all year; 32 percent work full time part of the year, and 20 percent work part time for part of the year. As a result, most employed women do not build up seniority in their jobs, and it is far easier for employers simply not to hire additional workers than to fire long-standing employees. Clues to future instability of women's hold on jobs are already apparent in recent Bureau of Labor Statistics data on unemployment rates: that the rate declined between the summer of 1969 and late fall 1969 has been found to be attributable not to increased success in finding jobs but to withdrawal of unemployed women and young people from the attempt to find new jobs. When it is further realized that the supply of trained teachers, for the first time in 25 years, is beginning to exceed the demand for such teachers, it becomes all the more urgent that legislation be enacted that protects the rights of women to find and hold the jobs for which they are trained.

Should these protections against discrimination on the basis of sex not be enacted, we can predict increased militancy by American women. Such militancy among women, as among blacks, will not be evidence of psychological instability but a response to the frustration of rising expectations. Militant women in the 1970s may be spurned and spat upon as the suffragists were during the decade before the vote was won for women in 1920. But it must be recognized that such militant women will win legal, economic, and political rights for the daughters of today's traditionalist Aunt Bettys, just as our grandmothers won the vote that women can exercise today.

Metamorphosis into Bureaucrat

MARGE PIERCY

My hips are a desk.

From my ears hang

chains of paperclips.

Rubber bands form my hair.

My breasts are wells of mimeograph ink.

My feet bear casters.

Buzz. Click.

My head

is a badly organized file.

My head is a switchboard
where crossed lines crackle.

My head is a wastebasket
of worn ideafc.

Press my fingers
and in my eyes appear
credit and debit
zing. Tinkle.

My navel is a reject button.

From my mouth issue cancelled reams.

Swollen, heavy, rectangular

I am about to be delivered

of a baby

xerox machine.

File me under W

because I wonce

was

a woman.

Drowning in the Steno Pool

MADELINE BELKIN

Many of us are familiar with tales of "uppity niggers" in the Ole South who spit in Massuh's soup before delivering it from the kitchen. Or with tales of how the Mistress's favorite piece of china would be broken by her most trusted house servant. While the white folks thought the darkies were just singin' and shufflin' on the plantation, the black folks, filled with bitter rage, knew that the spit and broken china were no accident. They were small but meaningful acts of revenge. Sabotage.

But the white folks kept right on buying, selling, maiming, raping and sometimes—even just for fun, sometimes—killing the black folks. Finally the black folks learned it wasn't enough to just spit in the soup.

Few people are aware of the quiet revolts that go on daily in the lives of the women in America; the subtle acts of sabotage (conscious and subconscious) in offices and kitchens. I was a secretary for over ten years, and can testify that sabotage and revolt are genuine, gut realities.

It never occurs to a great many of us—perhaps the majority—that we have a right to challenge being channeled into deadly, subservient, mindless office jobs. Even beginning to think that we have genuine reasons to be enraged is a major step. How little we expect of our lives! We type, deliver coffee, plug ourselves into dictaphones, smile, take orders—and unprotestingly die a little each day.

But we in offices have our own ways of spittin' in Massuh's soup. We manage to break typewriters, steal supplies, forget to relay messages, use the day's mail to cover our heads on rainy days. These reactions to being dehumanized should be recognized for what they are, sabotage.

I come from a white welfare ghetto in Brooklyn, an environment guaranteed to provide few expectations in life. In case you did manage to slip by with a little ego strength and self-confidence, the school system made sure it convinced you that you were dead wrong. It was with some degree of pain, but mainly a feeling of resignation, that I accepted my guidance counselor's advice to take a commercial course in high school. (This was standard advice for the majority of girls in my class. I know now that the programming, or "channeling," of children—particularly girls and children of the poor—into subservient job training is no accident. It is the very core of our educational system.) Despite the fact that I had already been skipped two years and constantly received commendations for "outstanding scholastic achievement," I could not bring myself to tell my counselor I had no interest whatsoever in commercial subjects. Who was I to question an "authority" in an "institution"? He had even tried to soften the blow: "Learning to type is not so bad. Everyone doesn't have to go to college. A pretty girl like you will find a husband quickly in some nice, big office." (Bang! Bang! to you—wherever you are!)

Acts of resistance began. I failed—or nearly failed—all my commercial subjects, and excelled in all the academic subjects we were allowed to take. The words "debit" and "credit" in my bookkeeping class became the triggers to hypnotic trance-inducement. Day after day in typing and steno classes the rote of the Pitman stenography symbols and letters on the typewriter were pounded into our heads. We were told to translate all things we observe into stenographic symbols. Finally I could no longer see a man without thinking O , and a woman became ^ . At night I"would think: asdf;lkj asdf;lkj asdf;lkj. Resistance: type only with four fingers. By high school graduation, however, it was clear that "they" had totally won out. I was reconciled to serve, with gratitude, as a secretary.

So at the precocious age of 15Vi, I took my four dextrous fingers and robotized mind and body Uptown to find a job. (Uptown meaning anything beyond my street in Brooklyn.) I was hired as a junior secretary for a Wall Street corporation which made billions of dollars exploiting Latin Americans. I learned the hard facts about this ambitious enterprise by reading confidential files of letters

from the corporation president to various Latin-American dictators. The letters contained, among other things, advice on how these countries should be run. I also discovered that American personnel earned at least five times that of Latin Americans in branch offices, even though they had the same titles and did equal work.

Although the New York office was the nerve center of this vast bureaucracy, very little real work went on in it. Most of the men spent their time in endless meetings which never seemed to resolve anything, or dawdling at numerous make-work projects. We secretaries watered plants, occasionally took dictation, typed, filed, tried to look pretty and not too bright, and gossiped a lot on the phone.

One day my boss requested (via intercom) that I wash his desk. Something inside me panicked and rebelled. I stuttered back (via intercom), "I'm sorry, but, but, but . . . I j-just can't do that." He cajoled, seduced, begged. Thoughts raced through my head. Why not quit this lousy place? Block that thought! Be grateful they want you! Do as he says. Do it. I washed his desk. And he rewarded me with a bottle of Woolworth's lavender cologne.

The company's fortunes dwindled with the advent of the Cuban Revolution and the subsequent nationalization of American businesses. The office was like a deflating balloon as personnel were released by the dozens. In my last few months, I played bridge at least four hours a day with a vice-president, the personnel manager, and his secretary. Over $100,000 in salaries being paid as we sat in a posh office shuffling cards while Latin Americans starved and died. Although at the time I was not very political, my instincts told me to side with the Cubans. And so my first act of resistance was a gesture of solidarity with them. I refused completely to answer the phones, even during lunch hour when I was the only secretary on the floor. I told them I was just too shy. The day I was fired was a .bit shocking, but quite painless.

Boss No. 2. I was assigned a front-desk position. The boss came in each morning and in great cavalier fashion flung his overcoat at me. Many a day I nearly toppled out of the swivel chair under the weight of his herringbone tweed. Act of sabotage No. 2. Shuffle whenever he buzzes for me. Draaggg into his office, lower jaw hanging ever so slightly. My dismissal: "Miss B., I can't stand it—you walk

too slowly. When I buzz my girl, I want her to run!"

Boss No. 3. This one reprimanded me each time I went to the ladies' room. Dialogue: "Is something wrong with your bladder, Miss B.? You go to the rest room at least three times a day and spend inordinate amounts of time there." I stutter and reply, "Three times a day isn't much . . . and drop the subject, too embarrassed to continue. Actually, I had become utterly fascinated with the tales of one of the secretaries who really did spend most of her day in the ladies' room. Each time I came in, she would tell me in great detail about what she was going through to reduce her legs—a very complicated, mysterious, expensive dehydration process involving hot rags. I finally learned that the boss's call took priority over nature's. But, lo and behold, sabotage No. 3 began. I began to lose and misplace files. I also found I had to have honey in my tea each morning, and somehow more honey ended up inside my typewriter than in my tea, totally incapacitating the typewriter. I beat a hasty retreat.

Boss No. 4. An endless umbilical cord-intercom buzzed from his office to mine. I was reprimanded constantly for using too large a quantity of office supplies. Sabotage No. 4. I misspelled his name on every fifth letter, and stole all the supplies I could possibly carry.

Boss No. 5. The seducer, a public-relations man. I got away with typing his title, "Pubic Relations Director," for four months. And I began to discover I was not alone. The second day on the job, while familiarizing myself with my "work surroundings," I discovered—behind some sliding doors—a huge pile of crumpled, mangled letters (some torn to bits) which turned out to be my predecessor's unique method of filing! I didn't know then what a nascent guerrilla she was. Today, / know, and wherever and whoever she is, Sisterhood and Solidarity to her!

Next, on to the big time. First, becoming a big-time secretary to a big-time editor of a small-time magazine. Then, on to working for one of America's most famous novelists, thinking proximity to greatness would be my deliverance. Imagine me working for him! What an identity! It turned out to be just another dull job, this time with domestic chores thrown in, since I worked in his house. Moral: Whether you work for Metropolitan Life or Pope Paul, it's the same old crap. Proximity is not greatness. It

only seems exciting at the beginning and then you begin to feel cheated (in a literal sense too, since "glamour jobs" pay much less).

I left the Great Man and went on to a "coveted" secretarial position at a really "in" publishing house. ISame old stuff. Only this time I had special instructions for making cafe au lait. The boss had a miniature kitchen in his office! (All secretaries learn that, to the extent we're willing to participate, we become on-the-job wives, mothers, mistresses, confidantes, and therapists. In addition to being full-time masochists.)

In all fairness, many of the men I worked for—including the last one—were decent people. But the fact is that the dominant/submissive, or mind/mindless, relationship kills. Finally you have to run for your life, with a small prayer in your heart that they'll clear out too. For, after all, their jobs, in different ways, are also pretty deadly and dehumanizing.

Some of this may seem humorous, but it really isn't funny at all. It is totally wrong and brutal to educate little girls so that they end up believing they are capable of doing only the most dull, degrading work. There is no such thing as the inherent right of one human being to have another human being serve him. It is not true that men are in any way "special" or better suited for responsibility/authority roles.

We must learn that it does not change things to lose files, disobey orders, break typewriters, spill coffee—just as it never changed things for the slaves who spat in Massuh's soup. We must get in touch with our anger, with a sense of pride and self-worth. For myself, one day I knew I had had enough. I haven't had a secretarial job since. For most women, however, there is little, if any, alternative. Clerical work is the largest single occupation of the 18 million working women in this country.

We have to begin to organize. Seek out other office saboteurs. Talk about what's happening. It's exciting to find out you're not alone! Talk about how useless most American corporations are; how alienated most work is in this society. Many corporations are making major profits from the Vietnamese war. All of them profit from exploiting people here and in other countries. Many produce useless, overpriced products which specifically exploit worn-

en and net billions in profits. We owe it to ourselves to understand how our lives are manipulated by the system we live under.

As a first step, each woman working in an office anywhere in this country can start her day with a litany: "I am not a service machine. I am a worthwhile, proud human being. I have a right to demand satisfaction in my life. I don't have to take any crap." Once you begin to really believe in your own worth, then you can say, "Hell, I've been cheated, exploited, stunted, robbed of years of my life! And now I'm ready to fight back. So watch out!"

Pie in the Sky

GENE REECE

When I was in high school and college I had what I considered wonderful opportunities—opportunities which were open to me because I came from a "good" family and was pretty in a conventional "American girl" way. I wanted only to be popular, to fit in, to be undistinguished for anything but a good figure, pretty face and hair, and nice clothes.

I entered several beauty contests while I was in high school and college, more for my mother's sake and to win popularity than because I loved the competition or wanted a career in beauty contests or in show business. I even entered a Miss Fort Worth contest, but quit when I saw my breasts highlighted on a TV program in what I considered a "cheap" way. (The idea of exploitation never occurred to me, I only felt hurt and betrayed by the man who had been so nice during the filming.) That was the end of formal beauty contests, although living on a college campus in the South meant an informal beauty contest for the attention of our campus heroes every day.

I majored in English in college, was graduated with a B.A., and couldn't think of anything to do but teach or become a secretary. I decided to teach. The experiences of an ill-educated, ill-prepared, shallow, defensive, scared, confused twenty-one-year-old woman in a high school classroom are pathetic and one of the shames of American education. But that is another story. I learned a great deal in those years, but I still wanted to escape the paper-grading, the late-night planning, the routine, the hard work. I began to grope toward a job which required little thinking, and finally decided to fulfill a high school dream—to become an airline stewardess.

A stewardess is the epitome of what American womanhood tries to be. Do you know about the myth of American womanhood? This myth is a set of standards by which society judges women and around which women must arrange their lives. If you watch TV commercials and look at the ads in all the magazines, you know what I mean. You know all the things you are supposed to do and be. You know too that it would be extremely difficult to live up to this myth. The airline stewardess is supposed to. She is primarily a sex symbol and sex object—even though it is the Playboy kind of sexy woman, healthy and outdoorsy, sweet and innocent. She must always be most aware of her appearance, down to the smallest detail of figure, grooming, and dress. When I was interviewed, I was inspected carefully. The interviewer examined my hair, nails, hands, arms, asked me to raise my skirt and took a look at my hips and legs, checked my teeth (explaining the importance of the smile), and scrutinized the exposed parts of my face, neck, arms, legs for "unsightly scars."

For the six weeks of stewardess college, I was trained intensively in being an American woman. Making-up, for example, was serious business. We spent hours in the classroom sitting in front of a mirror studying our faces and hair; practicing application of makeup and the skillful and time-consuming art of hair-teasing to get that "natural" look. We mastered the lip brush (never the tube—that was crude), the choice and application of various bases (we had several for a single application of the mask and even had a machine for measuring variations in skin tone), the use of blush-highlighting, eyeliner, eye shadow, the eye-

brow brush, mascara, and finally, the most exciting touch of all (and as much a required part of our uniform as the rest of the makeup), false eyelashes.

Making up wasn't all. We were expected to move with "grace." We had classes in learning to walk, climb stairs, and sit. Unless you are a model or a stewardess, you are probably not aware that there is a correct way to go up and down stairs: your body should be straight and you can bend only at the knee, sliding the ball of the foot quietly and gracefully onto the step, all without looking down. You then push yourself gently up to the next step, using only the muscle in the top of the thigh. This way, you can glide up and down the stairs. Sitting properly works the same way. You feel your way into a chair because it is awkward to look first. You must bend only at the knees, cross your legs only at the ankles, etc!

We were encouraged to eat with self-control. Weight records were kept and in the course of the six weeks our measurements were taken several times. A few women were told that they would be unhappy stewardesses because of their weight problems. Our progress in these matters was carefully supervised by our instructresses. If a woman did not "shape up" and learn the rules, she was told she would be "happier" in another profession. Of course, since we had been carefully selected for our physical appearance, and since we all wanted to be stewardesses, not many dropped out.

A significant part of the program was designed to imbue us with company loyalty. Proper dress and behavior on and off the plane were stressed because we represented the company twenty-four hours a day. We learned the history of the company and of the profession; we learned songs about the company, about our famous sisters, and we sang them at the beginning of every class. We were taught that the company depended on how effectively we stood up in competition with stewardesses from other airlines, and on how well we performed our services for our own company —always in competition with the women performing the same services on competing airlines. It was drilled into us that the regular passengers would fly with us if our service was the best. (If you've ever watched a stewardess work at her job, you've seen the kind of strain this extreme competition forces on her.)

Looking back, I can see that the airline knew it would be to its benefit to create a feeling of sisterhood among us; we would work together much better if we were loyal to each other. But I found it difficult to think of the woman I was trying to outdo as my sister. We were polite, we gossiped about men and each other, we had incomplete, superficial views of each other's lives; we were sisters only in our identity with the company and with our particular prestige job. I wasn't particularly disturbed by this. I assumed, as I always had, that deep relationships didn't happen between women. Even good friends were rarely honest with each other.

Another important part of our training was learning to be delightful and charming hostesses. We were told to consider the plane cabin our living room and the passengers our personal guests. The infinite detail of the meal services still staggers me. The stewardesses' manual was a three-inch-thick loose-leaf filled with service instructions for every flight, for every plane, for every stewardess position (first, second, third, and fourth positions—first-class first position duties are distinctly different from first-class second position duties, and both are different from the duties and services in the coach of the plane). Though I flew for two years, there were services I never learned.

Stewardesses were originally registered nurses whose function on planes was primarily nursing. But as commercial air travel became a giant profit-making industry and as the competition grew, so did the role of the stewardess. She became a glorified waitress, a maid, a loving comforter, a cheerful ego-booster with a shoulder to cry on and a sympathetic ear, a not-too-bright, childlike woman to be impressed by her passengers (most are men). She became a coat-hanging, magazine-passing, drink-serving, tray-carrying, garbage-collecting functionary who never allows herself to be rattled and who never stops smiling. On one flight, my supervisor was observing as we tried to serve drinks and dinner to over 120 passengers, take care of children, and tend to the needs of the crew in the cockpit—all in a little over an hour's flying time. After the flight, she asked me if I liked my job. When I asked her why she wondered, she said: "You stopped smiling sometimes while you were working."

The fact that the stewardess's primary function is to

stand by for an emergency is lost on the passengers. I was once confronted by a man who demanded a drink on a flight which had no scheduled liquor service. When I tried to explain politely that we could not serve liquor, he was outraged and told me that when he bought his ticket he bought me as well and was going to report to my supervisor that I had not obeyed him. I tried to explain that it was a safety regulation and that I was there to open the door for him and inflate the escape slide in case of an emergency landing. But his concept of stewardess didn't cover anything as serious or responsible as handling an emergency.

In fact, I was never satisfied with our emergency training, and I saw many instances where safety became secondary to the elaborate meal service: extra paraphernalia would block an emergency exit in the buffet area, stewardesses were forced by short flying times and long meal services to leave their seats too soon after take-off, or to clean up when they should have been strapped in for landing, aisles were blocked by bulky liquor carts, passengers were drunk, equipment was faulty, and stewardesses were so exhausted that their reflexes had slowed. I remember one flight when I had to sit on the floor of the buffet with my back to the side of the plane and hold the huge, heavy tray-carrier in place with my feet while the plane landed. Its latch was broken and if I had not held it when the captain reversed the engines, it would have spilled dozens of trays and hundreds of dirty dishes and glasses into the aisles and in front of the emergency door.

I don't know how I lasted as long as I did. I could accept for a while the harsh treatment from passengers because I was so stuffed with company propaganda and with my own experience as a pretty American girl. But as time passed, as abuse piled on abuse, I began to suspect that there was more to my suffering than unpleasant passengers. At the same time, some new friends—unusually critical friends, the kind of people I had been taught to stay away from—were encouraging me to think more deeply and systematically about my situation. They urged me to stop being critical of the passengers and look at the airline itself, at the kinds of things the company did to its own employees. Discovering the difference between what I had been taught was true and what was true was very slow, because

I didn't want to know it. I felt guilty at not being happy on the job; I thought I should be grateful for such wonderful opportunities. The company did, after all, pay relatively good salaries and gave us free or reduced rates for air travel; there was a seniority system, which meant that the longer you flew, the better most things got—trips and lay-overs became longer and pleasanter. The fact that none of us were really happy on the job didn't matter—that wasn't why we were flying. We were flying for money, men, adventure, travel.

But the job—the work on the plane—was the most strenuous, unrewarding, alienating concentration of house-work and waitress-type drudgery to be found anywhere. I saw this, but I didn't know how to feel about it. I only knew I was increasingly unhappy. I finally quit after flying a shuttle service between Washington, D.C., and Chicago, a flight which had many regular passengers, mainly men. The flying time was short, and we had to break our backs to get drinks and trays out, pick them up, and put them away—not to mention the little extras like hanging coats, passing out magazines, and filling special orders from passengers and crew. Every request for an unusual item slowed us down, and the crew expected extra service—"A Coke now, a glass of milk in five minutes. OK, Doll?" The flight was going fairly smoothly until my partner and I learned that a strong tailwind could get us there even sooner than scheduled. Alarmed, I went to the captain and asked him to call the tower for permission to circle once to give us time to put the trays away. He refused rudely. This created an emergency for the stewardesses. As we scrambled about I found myself on my knees in the aisle, hat askew, uni-form filthy, a pat of butter stuck to my lapel, up to my elbows in the mess that had accumulated on the buffet floor because we couldn't stow it away fast enough. The other stewardesses were running up and down the aisles carrying six or eight trays at a time and the plane was descending. We finally threw all the extra dishes in the john and locked the door. Suddenly I was able to step outside myself and look at myself and at the passengers looking at me. I saw that they were amused; I was humiliated and sad. The last straw came when a man reached over, patted me on the rear, and told me my girdle was showing.

Somehow this remark penetrated all the plastic pretti-

ness with which the airline and society had coated me. In that instant I realized what a slut-in-service-to-America I had become. I began burning with resolve to purge myself of all the misconceptions and illusions that society had heaped on me and decided to become a woman.

And that's what I'm doing these days.

Pages from a Shop Diary

OLGA DOMANSKI

Graduate, Fisher Body Assembly Line
"Zig Zag Spring" Department

The department was only a month old when I hired in. The company had never hired women in this particular plant before, except half a dozen left from the first "shingle-cut" era. . . . The foreman had a reputation as a particularly poisonous Simon Legree. He had, according to the Union, been so hated by the men that the company had felt it wiser to remove him from the department over which he had lorded and "save" him for a special job. The special job for which they were saving him was the job of breaking 'm the new women's department.

In this industry, workers were considered as temporary employees for a period of three months. If they lasted that long without being fired or laid off or quitting, they acquired their coveted seniority—the only small measure of official protection they had against the company. . . .

Ordinarily, a new worker is hired in to work among a group of workers who have already acquired seniority. The company tries to use each new employee as a "whip," squeezing more work out of the new hire, in the hope that a precedent will be set that could be used as a standard for the whole group. Sometimes it works. More often, the others, knowing the tenuousness of a temporary employee's position, will take the ball from him, and so manipulate things that the seniority employees (who are in a position to call the committeeman) are responsible for any slow-

downs, and the new employee left in the clear. . . .

However, in our department, the ordinary situation was reversed and the entire department was composed of new hires. This meant that for three months, the foreman could run roughshod over the department in the knowledge that by the time the women had acquired their seniority and could fight back on more equal terms, the production standards would have been set and precedents for working conditions already well established....

There was not too much need of a few older women to put us wise, however. It was clear to me from the first week in the shop that it is the production setup itself, and not some particularly foresighted leader with a good idea, that organizes the workers. Every girl in the department seemed to burn inwardly waiting for the days to pass until she had her seniority and could explode. In the washrooms in the morning, the girls would stand in line at the three washbasins to take turns soaking their stiffened hands in the steaming-hot water. Everyone took comfort in the fact that it was the normal and not the abnormal thing to wake up in the morning .with your arms tingling and your fingers so stiff that you had to pull electric light cords with your teeth. Everyone joked about it, and swapped symptoms, and comforted each other, and made confessions about going home at night and bawling. Each such confession would produce embarrassed grins, and more like confessions. The solidarity in misery was overwhelming. . . .

During the first three months, while everyone sweated out the "waiting period," the feeling of solidarity and closeness seemed much stronger than it did later. The girls seemed to realize the reason for it, and the necessity of it . . . and we were all tremendously grateful for it. It was common to hear one of the girls remark, "I would have cracked if it hadn't been for the rest of the girls." Or, "The only thing that makes this damn shop bearable is the girls and how swell they are." ...

Because we were working ten hours a day, and four hours more on Saturday, there was an awareness on everyone's part (the girls often spoke about it) that we spent far more time with each other—at least waking time—than we did with our own families and outside friends. And that our relations with the people we worked with were far more important in deciding our lives and our wel-

fare than were our relations with almost anyone else. . . .

The girls had been waging a campaign for seats. They were temporarily using boxes, and during the night shift, the boxes had been removed. One of the girls, who happened to be feeling very sick on account of her menstrual period that day, asked the acting foreman to get the boxes back. He snarled a refusal. She called a committeeman. But her .nerves got the best of her and she began to cry, called a relief girl, and started to the rest room to compose herself. As she passed his desk, the foreman snapped at her again, and when she stopped to answer him, more tearfully than ever, she cramped and doubled over in pain. The foreman, in great embarrassment, turned his back and started to walk away hurriedly while one of the other girls nearby ran to her and half carried her to the rest room. The girl involved was, far from being a popular girl, one of the most frequent targets for catty remarks in the department. But when the girls saw the scene between her and the foreman, they reacted as if she had been their beloved little old grandmother, and the foreman had beaten her with a club. The entire department was furious. They offered themselves to her as witnesses that he had struck her, or that she had fainted and he had walked away. They hissed at him and booed him when he walked down the aisle. They cheered when the committeeman came up and shouted, "Don't let him get away with it!" They put in call after call for the committeeman on any grievances they could think of. They messed up jobs, and fouled up the production schedule, and made life so miserable for the foreman that he finally stayed out of the department entirely____

Most of the women were married and had children. They had two workdays—first at the shop, and then at home. And they resented their relations to the men at both places.

The department, to begin with, was situated like a harem. The women were not scattered among men, doing jobs side by side with them. They were isolated in one corner of the shop, in one department. They were treated as "creatures apart"—something very special—but special in a very negative way. The "specialness" of our department lay in the fact that the work we did had been recently reclassified by management from heavy work to light

work; this is the way management distinguished "men's work" from "women's work." It was apparent that the designation had nothing whatever to do with heaviness or lightness, but only with rate of pay. The only reason the company had reclassified the work was to see whether women could handle it—at, of course, a lower wage rate than men had handled it in other shops, and as a matter of fact were handling it at the same time in other shops. It was a fact accepted by everyone (the girls, the men, and even management) that we were doing men's jobs and were treated like men in every respect—except our pay checks. The girls rubbed it in to the foreman, the union, the men up the line at every opportunity.

At first, the girls were a bit amused by our harem setup; then they grew resentful of it, and wound up in about a year jokingly "guarding" it. Whenever a man walked through the department and stopped to talk to any particular girl, the rest of the girls would set up a terrific racket of wolf calls, gun-buzzing, and hammer-banging until the man would run in embarrassed terror and the girl involved was left red-faced but laughing.

Everywhere about them men were doing easier work and getting higher pay for it. The foreman was a man. The repairman was a man. The supervisors and time-checker were men. When visitors came to watch from other plants they were always men. And none of this brigade did any hard work. All except the repairmen wore white shirts and nice ties and kept their hands very clean. Sometimes if one of the girls got particularly annoyed at one of them peering over her shoulder to watch while she worked, she would maneuver her air gun into such a position that the excess oil that shot out the back of the gun in a fine spray would shoot directly on the spectator's fine white shirt. They always moved.

Occasionally when too many girls were absent, the company would have to fill in the vacant spot with a man recruited from an overmanned department downstairs. On such occasions the men would seem absolutely stunned by the terrifically fast pace the girls were expected to keep up. More often than not they would become exhausted within an hour, or miss so many jobs and spoil so many others that the foreman would have to come over to assist or else replace the man altogether. These men would tell

the girls they were "nuts for working like racehorses," and shortly after the department opened up, the resentment of the men toward the women was apparent. They knew the company would speed up us first and then spread it to the entire shop. They also knew that if the girls did a hard job faster than the men did it, they would soon displace other men on other jobs.

The girls would try to explain that they didn't have seniority and couldn't help the position they were in. But their reaction was contradictory. They knew the men were right and kicked themselves for being used as racehorses by the company. But they couldn't help resent the men because they did less work and easier, lighter work and got paid more for it. And in addition, they frequently expressed pride in the knowledge that they could work harder than men, and faster than men. Their bitter philosophy was, "Oh well, everybody knows that the harder you work, the less you get paid in this life."

When a hapless male was shoved into a vacant spot on the line for a day, the girls would let him suffer for a while in grinning silence, and then, smiling at one another, would crack a joke with him and offer some bit of advice to make his job easier.

Most of the girls talked freely with each other about their home problems, and complained to each other about husbands who expected them to do all the housework on top of their shop jobs. They compared husbands, how much their husbands helped them at home, husbands' attitudes toward their working, etc. In almost every case, the girls were convinced that their husbands had easier jobs, and the bitterness of their resentment toward "demanding" mates knew no depth.

Many of the single girls got married within a year after they were hired in, but there were a few single girls scattered around the department. When any of them was overheard complaining about the shop, the foreman's favorite reply was, "Why don't you get married and get out of here?" At this the married girls would give him a sarcastic laugh and advise the single girl, "Get married and you'll get a life sentence in here," Many of them had quit when they first got married. Then at the birth of the first child they had found it impossible to get along on one man's wages and had gone back to work. There was a general

feeling that the very time when a woman should be home taking care of her family was exactly the time when she was driven out of her home . . . that a family (just the thing that should have kept her at home) was the thing that forced her back into the factory.

Many of the girls were divorcees with several kids. Their lives were not only doubly, but triply difficult. In additioii to the shop job and the care of their home and kids, they had to squeeze in "dates" and social affairs to keep from going stark mad.

Most of the girls were working because they had to. They kidded themselves for a while that they were only going to work until the house was paid for, or the furniture bought, or a car paid up. But even as they offered forth these reasons for working, and set time limits for themselves in the shop, they would laugh at themselves and say, "Who'm I kidding—I'll probably be here until I collect my pension." All of them were determined that their children should never set foot in a factory. One girl admitted that when her daughter had said she wanted to be "just like her mother," she had taken her by the shoulders and shaken her____

There was a state law prohibiting women from working over 54 hours a week, or ten hours in any one day. In our shop the men had to quit when we did on account of the way the lines were set up. With the excessive and backbreaking overtime we got for months at a time, the men were very open about their gratitude for our presence in the shop and the overtime limits we therefore imposed on the company. . . .

The girls exploited the "biological differences" angle to the fullest in their attempts to have their relief periods lengthened. In most shops a rest period is provided morning and afternoon, and a relief girl for emergencies in between these rests. Our first foreman expressed great surprise when asked about a rest period, said he had never heard of such a thing, and provided one relief girl for 40 women. The union had advised the girls that if they really had to go, the company knew they would leave the line, relief girl or no relief girl, and their advice was to call for relief, wait a reasonable length of time (ten minutes or so) and then inform the foreman .hat you were going to leave the line if the relief girl didn't come immediately. A

few brave souls used the routine. And when he found out it wasn't just a bluff, the foreman would rush over himself and take the job if he couldn't get a relief girl immediately. Of course, the normal elimination process was generally made much more difficult by the tension and excitement of such a fight every time you wanted re- lief, and in a year and a half there were over half a dozen operations for hemorrhoids in the department, all attrib- uted by the girls (and undoubtedly correctly) to the in- human control the company exercised over even our bowel movements. The girls eventually became quite calloused about having to discuss many of the most personal and intimate matters with the foreman, and often used the crudest language they knew in an attempt to embarrass him. . . . And in time the girls got more relief girls and longer relief periods, simply by taking them and explaining about those "certain days" if they were bawled out. . . .

The girls' seemed to feel as if the union "owed" them something. They knew it was a good thing and defended it against the company. But they felt they weren't getting all they should from it. The union fought for a year to adjust the rate in our department upward toward the rate men were getting for doing the same work elsewhere. When they finally won the case, it meant large back-pay checks for everyone. Some of the older women got more than a hundred dollars. They accepted with thanks, bought the committee a bottle, but when asked by the union spokes- men how they felt about it, said drily, "It's fine . . . but it still isn't as much as the men are making. When do we get the rest?"

The Labor and Suffrage Movements: A View of Working-Class Women in the 20th Century

SUSAN REVERBY " '

Organizing efforts and strikes among women workers have occurred throughout labor history, but without help

from the general labor movement, or their sisters in the suffrage movement, women were not able to sustain their efforts. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) was formed in 1881, its strength based on national unions, city-wide federations and some locals in the skilled-craft trades. But most women workers were to be found in unskilled jobs. The AFL craft unions passed resolutions declaring themselves in favor of equal pay for equal work and the organization of women. But the member unions were "labor's aristocracy" and they refused to admit women or even to see the need to organize them in the unskilled trades.

Unskilled women workers were looked down on for both economic and social reasons. As unskilled labor, they were an economic threat to the men's privileged position; socially, men believed women did not belong in the factory. They refused to recognize that this prejudice only meant that women workers would continue to be an oppressed group that could be used against them in the labor market, cutting into the men's wages as a constantly underpaid, readily available reserve labor force.

If women were admitted to AFL unions at all, it was usually with special dues and regulations and restrictions. The lower dues were considered justified because women made less money. The men did not work to end this pay differential, but rather incorporated it into their union constitutions and their contracts. Thus, despite equal pay and work resolutions, neither the AFL nor its affiliated unions changed their basically prejudicial views about women workers.

Only the more class-conscious Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) had a different view of women workers. Growing out of the Western Federation of Miners, the IWW was dedicated to organizing the unorganizable—unskilled foreign-born, women and black workers—into "One Big Union." For the first time in union history, women in the IWW held equal positions with men and special attention was given them in the organization's publications. It was never doubted that women could be organized, and some of the Wobbly's greatest strikes—the Lawrence and Patterson textile struggles—were by working women. But still they had to struggle against vestiges of male supremacist ideas. Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the famous "Rebel Girl,"

described the organization of women during the Lawrence strike:

> The Old World attitude of men as the "lord and master" was strong at the end of the day's work—or now, of strike duty—the man went home and sat at ease while his wife did all the work preparing the meal, cleaning the house, etc. There was considerable male opposition to women going to meetings and marching on the picket line. We resolutely set out to combat these notions. The women wanted to picket. We knew that to leave them at home alone, isolated from the strike activity, a prey to worry, affected by the complaints of tradespeople, landlords, priests and ministers, was dangerous to the strike.

Although they began to deal with the issue of male supremacy, the Wobblies never got the chance to recruit large numbers of the American labor force to its ranks. By 1916, because of their strong anti-war stand and aggressive tactics, the Wobblies were brutally repressed, raided and arrested on sedition charges. Legal defense, rather than labor organizing, became their main activity.

The unions were not the only movement which failed to respond to the needs of working women. The women's suffrage movement was from its very inception a movement of white middle-class native-born women who accepted the basic structure of society and wanted their own share in it. Their position was often antithetical to that of working women.

The New York-based National Suffrage Association concerned itself with the conditions of working women, but even it separated labor and women's demands. Thus, although Susan B. Anthony helped organize the Working Women's Association in New York, she also urged women to act as strikebreakers to better themselves. As a delegate to the National Labor Union convention she supported a resolution opposing the use of strikes and declared that the men who went on strike were tools of "political tricksters." Suffragists tended to see the working men more than the bosses as the enemy to their cause. It was therefore no wonder that the working-class women in Anthony's

Working Women's Association dropped out, asserting that they wanted "not the ballot, but bread."

The women's suffrage movement focused on the narrow issue of the vote and failed to concern itself with the needs of working women. In the beginning, the suffragists had argued that the vote was a natural right of all women. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, the argument had changed to one of expediency rather than justice. Trying to capitalize on growing racist sentiment, many suffragists began to claim that the vote should be given to white middle-class women, as opposed to "illiterate, foreign-born and black men." In 1893 the National Suffrage Association resolved that there were more women who could read and write than all the Negro and foreign voters ". . . so that the enfranchisement of such women would settle the vexed question of rule by illiteracy whether of home-grown or foreign-born production." Belle Kearney, a suffragist from Mississippi, assured people that women's suffrage, with education and property restriction, would ensure white supremacy, since ten out of every eleven literate Southern women were white. The majority of working women, who were black or foreign-born, were thus cut off and discouraged from joining the suffrage struggle. Black women were particularly neglected by the suffragists and were even asked to stay in a separate section during suffrage parades.

In 1903, however, women from various reform groups, as well as some trade unionists and social workers, formed the National Women's Trade Union League (NWTUL). They gathered in Boston for the annual AFL convention and discussed the need to organize women into trade unions, to interest middle-class women in this struggle and to achieve protective labor legislation for women and children. The NWTUL, was thus to be open to any individual or group which would accept these goals.

From its very inception the NWTUL was in a precarious, reformist position. The women first had to struggle against the pervasive societal attitude that working women could-not be organized. There were many difficulties to be overcome. The women were concentrated in the low-paid, low-skilled industries. Many working women were from immigrant families that had strict ideas about a woman's

place, her hours, and who she could associate with. Old World customs were linked to the American attitude against what was known as the "go-to-meetings" woman. Women were told it was "unwomanly" and "unladylike" to join a union. For example, an editorial in the Boston Transcript declared that the demands for trade unions for women were "clamorous and unfeminine declarations of personal rights, which it is obvious a wise Providence never destined them to exercise." With no practice in organizations, the women had difficulty speaking out and running meetings. Many would not join unions because they saw their jobs as a temporary thing, something to do until marriage would rescue them from the shop.

Despite these difficulties, trade-union women did organize. The rank and file showed their strength and militancy in the general strike of the New York shirtwaist makers in 1909. Known as the "Uprising of the 20,000," it began following a general meeting of all workers in Cooper Union in New York to protest abominable conditions and wage cuts. At this meeting, Clara Lemlish, a young worker, angered at the continued talking, stormed to the platform and in a fiery speech in Yiddish called for an immediate strike in the garment trade. The women immediately rose to their feet and shouted in approval. Then they solemnly pledged, in the words of an old Jewish oath, "If I turn traitor to the cause I now pledge, may this hand wither from the arm I now raise."

For 13 weeks during that cold and bitter winter the women picketed and fought off scabs, company thugs and police. Over 700 women were arrested, beaten and abused. Many were accused of being streetwalkers and prostitutes. But they held to their cause.

Many of the women suffered from family abtise as well. A striker's diary recalled that her father, although a trade unionist himself, forbade her from participation, saying, "... I don't think it's a woman's place to be hangin' around street corners, fighting with rowdies and be taken to jail. Union is all good and well by itself, but it was never meant for women."

The judges trying the strikers approved of the "ladylike work of sweated conditions," but not of the right of these women to organize and fight their oppression. One classic comment was made by a magistrate who told a striker

that God had ordained that all should work and that she was on strike against God.

The NWTUL provided bail, lawyers, strike funds and publicity and support to the working women. A "Mink Brigade" of leisure- and upper-class women joined the strikers on the line. Some were arrested along with the working women, but most were released when their identity was discovered.

Although sympathetic, the upper-class women did, of course, return to their uptown homes at the end of the day. One striker, questioning their motives, said, "I shouldn't wonder their conscience pricks them a bit—they must be ashamed of being fortune's children while so many of the girls have never known what a good day means." Some of these women, like the sisters Mary Dreier and Margaret Dreier Robins, were devoted to the cause, however. Their lives were spent in the struggle to change working conditions for women.

Members of the NWTUL became involved in lobbies for protective labor legislation. The struggle for protective safety laws, however,' did not come to fruition until the devastating and tragic Triangle Shirt Waist Factory fire. The Triangle Company, located just off Washington Square Park in New York City, employed mostly young Jewish and Italian women in a cramped eight-floor factory. The management policy was to lock all doors in the building from the outside so that the women could not steal anything and to prevent unwanted union organizers from entering. The "fire escape" on the building did not reach ground level and other safety devices were nonexistent. On March 25, 1911, a fire broke out on one of the floors and quickly spread to the entire building. The women were trapped behind the locked doors. Many jumped to their deaths from the windows. Within half an hour, 143 women had perished in the blaze. The outcry after the tragedy was enormous, but the women did not want just words. Rose Schneiderman angrily4 told a mass meeting:

I can't talk fellowship to you who are gathered

here. Too much blood has been spilled. I know from

my experience it is up to the working people to save

themselves. The only way they can save themselves is by a strong working-class movement.

But the movement became a drive for legislation. A Factory Investigating Commission was established and succeeded in gaining the passage of the New York State Industrial Codes, which required safety and fire standards in the factories. This was a major victory for the National Women's Trade Union League.

Though the leisure-class women and working-class women could sometimes work together, when the suffragists turned to the equal-rights amendment fight in 1920, an open split finally developed. The National Women's Party began to agitate for an amendment to the Constitution to read: "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." Trade-union women felt that such a blanket amendment would wipe out all the protective labor legislation they had so painstakingly fought to have passed. The equality to be gained by such an amendment was, for the working woman, the equality of sharing intolerable conditions with her working brothers.

Feminists argued that such laws were made in days when women workers as a group were inferior to male workers, but since that was no longer the case, such laws now limited the opportunities of women. But the feminists making such arguments were middle- and upper-class women who were too often thinking of professional work. This is a dispute still going on today, in 1970. Many working women worked against the recently defeated equal-rights amendment because they wanted to retain protective legislation. Others felt that protective legislation had been used to keep them from advancing to supervisory jobs and supported its passage.

During the 1930s and 1940s, the NWTUL continued to work to organize women and provide relief. Many wives of working men participated in the women's auxiliaries that were part of picket lines and organizing efforts throughout the period. Women were in the forefront of the major CIO organizing drives in the 1930s and 1940s as well.

Black women, meanwhile, began to enter as a permanent factor in the industrial labor force during World War I, when the demand for workers increased. Like their black brothers, the women took the low-skilled, unpleasant and hazardous jobs which white women had abandoned or

refused to do. They entered the low-paid industries: candy making, toys, paper boxes, needle trades, packinghouses, commercial laundries. Surveys done by the U. S. Women's Bureau repeatedly showed that their condition was worse than that of either whites or black men.

Black women were also neglected by the labor movement. In part this has been due to labor's lack of interest in reaching women in the lowest-paid industries. One worker said, "They never ask us to join except when they want to strike." Many unions refused to take black workers or to integrate them into the mainstream of their organizations. Some black women were able to join the International Ladies' Garment Workers and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers when their shops were organized. But for the most part, they continued to be ignored by the unions, were used continually as strikebreakers by employers, all the while laboring under the most appalling and horrendous working conditions.

Conditions for all working women have not changed very much. Working women are still subject to vast pay differentials, discrimination in job training, hiring and promotion. They are exploited continuously by speedups, lack of safety devices, and piece-work systems. Most are still working a "double shift"—one at the workplace and another at home.

Most of organized labor has continued its historical role of not fighting for the rights of women. Very few unions have taken into consideration the desperate needs of working mothers for day-care centers. There are still 25 million working women unreached by any organization. Many of them fail to join unions, as did their sisters in the past, even when the opportunity is presented: because they simply do not see their needs fulfilled by unions.

The new women's liberation movement, which is primarily middle class, must avoid repeating the errors of our sisters in the suffrage movement. We must begin to understand the double oppression of working-class sisters. With the emergence of the demand for an equal-rights amendment, it is important that we avoid repeating the splits of the previous era. We must learn from the divisions of the past if we are really going to free our sisters and free ourselves.

III. Inside the Family—and Outside

Some people see the women's liberation movement as being synonymous with smashing the family. What in fact is true is that we are not creating the dissolution of the American family, we are merely analyzing and reacting to what has already been going on for some time. Today one out of every three marriages ends in divorce, and children are leaving home at earlier and earlier ages. It is clear that the family is simply not answering our needs and that something is seriously wrong.

Technology has provided new options for women—options such as education, birth control, more free time. For the first time many of us are beginning to think of new ways for people to live together outside the institution of marriage.

We are not against love, against men and women living together, against having children. What we are against is the role women play once they become wives and mothers. For women, from early childhood on, marriage is seen as the thing to aim for, the thing to hope for. It is a way to get out of our own parents' homes, a respectable identity, a way to experience autonomy. The kind of jobs available to women is generally so dismal that often the work we do as housewives and mothers becomes an attractive alternative. For those of us who choose not to marry, there is the reality of severe social pressure against us. Our society is simply not set up to accommodate people who choose to live together outside the nuclear family.

We feel that women have no inherent qualities of motherhood and domesticity, beyond the initial bear-

ing of a child. Men, were they conditioned differently, would be equally capable of assuming their share of responsibility within the home. Society, too, has not assumed its proper share of responsibility for providing for children (i.e., child-care centers) or in finding new ways to socialize housework so that the entire burden doesn't fall on the individual woman.

What is clear, too, is that when men want to protest conditions on their jobs, they can strike and picket around their workplace. What do women do about protesting job conditions at home? We, who receive no wages at all for our labor! It is no accident that the work women do is referred to as a "labor of love," for that is what women offer their work for, love (translated: security). The work men do, always taken more seriously, warrants wages. This basic financial dependency on men (note how many women are financially destitute when faced with divorce) and the fact that the role within the family for women demands total sublimation of our lives are the sources of our oppression within the family. Have you ever heard a friend say, "I know I'm Hank's wife, and Sherry's mother, but I wonder sometimes who / really am."

And what faces us when the children are grown? A barrage of advice telling us to go out and "do something." Do what? For so long the world for us has been the four walls of our homes, identity gained through husband and children. The world outside recedes with each year. And where is there to go on the job market when you're an older woman or have never had an education or job training?

Our strong focus on the family in women's liberation has come not from an abstraction, but from raw feelings based on personal experience.

There is no monolithic approach to the family among women in the movement. Some of us are in a position to choose alternate life-styles; for most this is impossible. Many nonwhite women want now to build families, because they have suffered the systematic destruction of their family units since arrival in this country. White working-class women have almost no options for life outside of marriage. What

we do know is that the way we live and relate to each other within the family is a microcosm of how we are forced to relate to people in society at large. We will not be able to deal with inequities within the family until we are able to change the mammoth inequities which surround us in the larger society.

Where Is It Written?

JUDITH VIORST

Where is it written

That husbands get twenty-five-dollar lunches and
invitations to South America for think conferences
while

Wives get Campbell's black bean soup and a trip to

the firehouse with the first grade and
Where is it written

That husbands get to meet beautiful lady lawyers and
beautiful lady professors of Ancient History and
beautiful sculptresses and heiresses and poetesses
while

Wives get to meet the checker with the acne at the

Safeway and
Where is it written

That husbands get a nap and the Super Bowl on

Sundays while
Wives get to help color in the coloring book and
Where is it written

That husbands get ego gratification, emotional
support, and hot tea in bed for ten days when
they have the sniffles while
Wives get to give it to them?

And if a wife should finally decide
Let him take the shoes to the shoemaker and the
children to the pediatrician and the dog to the
vet while she takes up something like brain
surgery or transcendental meditation,

Where is it written
That she always has to feel
Guilty?

The Politics of Housework

REDSTOCKINGS

Though women do not complain of the power of husbands, each complains of her own husband, or of the husbands of her friends. It is the same in all other cases of servitude; at least in the commencement of the emancipatory movement. The serfs did not at first complain of the power of the lords, but only of their tyranny.

-JOHN STUART MILL

On the Subjection of Women

Liberated women—very different from Women's Liberation! The first signals all kinds of goodies, to warm the hearts (not to mention other parts) of the most radical men. The other signals—HOUSEWORK. The first brings sex without marriage, sex before marriage, cozy housekeeping arrangements ("I'm living with this chick") and the self-content of knowing that you're not the kind of man who wants a doormat instead of a woman. That will come later. After all, who wants that old commodity anymore, the Standard American Housewife, all husband, home and kids? The New Commodity, the Liberated Woman, has sex a lot and has a Career, preferably something that can be fitted in with the household chores—like dancing, pottery, or painting.

On the other hand is Women's Liberation—and housework. What? You say this is all trivial? Wonderful! That's what I thought. It seemed perfectly reasonable. We both had careers, both had to work a couple of days a week to earn enough to live on, so why shouldn't we share the housework? So I suggested it to my mate and he agreed—most men are too hip to turn you down flat. You're right, he said. It's only fair.

Then an interesting thing happened. I can only explain it by stating that we women have been brainwashed more than even we can imagine. Probably too many years of seeing television women in ecstasy over their shiny waxed floors or breaking down over their dirty shirt collars. Men have no such conditioning. They recognize the essential fact of housework right from the very beginning. Which is that it stinks.

Here's my list of dirty chores: buying groceries, carting them home and putting them away; cooking meals and washing dishes and pots; doing the laundry, digging out the place when things get out of control; washing floors. The list could go on but the sheer necessities are bad enough. All of us have to do these things, or get someone else to do them for us. The longer my husband contemplated these chores, the more repulsed he became, and so proceeded the change from the normally sweet, considerate Dr. Jekyll into the crafty Mr. Hyde who would stop at nothing to avoid the horrors of—housework. As he felt himself backed into a corner laden with dirty dishes, brooms, mops and reeking garbage, his front teeth grew longer and pointier, his fingernails haggled and his eyes grew wild. Housework trivial? Not on your life! Just try to share the burden.

So ensued a dialogue that's been going on for several years. Here are some of the high points:

• ”I don't mind sharing the housework, but I don't do it very well. We should each do the things we're best at.” MEANING: Unfortunately I'm no good at things like washing dishes or cooking. What I do best is a little light carpentry, changing light bulbs, moving furniture (how often do you move furniture?). ALSO MEANING: His- torically the lower classes (black men and us) have had hundreds of years experience doing menial jobs. It would be a waste of manpower to train someone else to do them now. ALSO MEANING: I don't like the dull, stupid, boring jobs, so you should do them.

• ”I don't mind sharing the work, but you'll have to show me how to do it.” MEANING: I ask a lot of ques- tions and you'll have to show me everything every time I do it because I don't remember so good. Also don't try to

sit down and read while I'M doing my jobs because I'm going to annoy hell out of you until it's easier to do them yourself.

• "We used to be so happy!" (Said whenever it was his turn to do something.) MEANING: I used to be so happy. MEANING: Life without housework is bliss. No quarrel here. Perfect Agreement.

• "We have different standards, and why should I have to work to your standards? That's unfair." MEANING: If I begin to get bugged by the dirt and crap I will say, "This place sure is a sty" or "How can anyone live like this?" and wait for your reaction. I know that all women have a sore called "Guilt over a messy house" or "Household work is ultimately my responsibility." I know that men have caused that sore—if anyone visits and the place is a sty, they're not going to leave and say, "He sure is a lousy housekeeper." You'll take the rap in any case. I can out- wait you. ALSO MEANING: I can provoke innumerable scenes over the housework issue. Eventually doing all the housework yourself will be less painful to you than trying to get me to do half. Or I'll suggest we get a maid. She will do my share of the work. You will do yours. It's women's work.

• "I've got nothing against sharing the housework, but you can't make me do it on your schedule." MEANING: Passive resistance. I'll do it when I damned well please, if at all. If my job is doing dishes, it's easier to do them once a week. If taking out laundry, once a month. If washing the floors, once a year. If you don't like it, do it yourself oftener, and then I won't do it at all.

• "I hate it more than you. You don't mind it so much." MEANING: Housework is garbage work. It's the worst crap I've ever done. It's degrading and humiliating for someone of my intelligence to do it. But for someone of your intelligence .. .

• "Housework is too trivial to even talk about." MEAN- ING: It's even more trivial to do. Housework is beneath my status. My purpose in life is to deal with matters of significance. Yours is to deal with matters of insignificance. You should do the housework.

• "This problem of housework is not a man-woman problem. In any relationship between two people one is going to have a stronger personality and dominate."

MEANING: That stronger personality had better be me.

• "In animal societies, wolves, for example, the top animal is usually a male even where he is not chosen for brute strength but on the basis of cunning and intelligence. Isn't that interesting?" MEANING: I have historical, psychological, anthropological and biological justification for keeping you down. How can you ask the top wolf to be equal?

• "Women's liberation isn't really a political movement." MEANING: The revolution is coming too close to home. ALSO MEANING: I am only interested in how I am oppressed, not how I oppress others. Therefore the war, the draft and the university are political. Women's libera- tion is not.

• Man's accomplishments have always depended on getting help from other people, mostly women. What great man would have accomplished what he did if he had to do his own housework?" MEANING: Oppression is built into the system and I, as the white American male, receive the benefits of this system. I don't want to give them up.

Participatory democracy begins at home. If you are planning to implement your politics, there are certain things to remember:

1. He is feeling it more than you. He's losing some leisure and you're gaining it. The measure of your oppres- sion is his resistance.

2. A great many American men are not accustomed to doing monotonous, repetitive work which never issues in any lasting, let alone important, achievement. This is why they would rather repair a cabinet than wash dishes. If human endeavors are like a pyramid with man's highest achievements at the top, then keeping oneself alive is at the bottom. Men have always had servants (us) to take care of this bottom stratum of life while they have confined their efforts to the rarefied upper regions. It is thus ironic when they ask of women—Where are your great painters, states- men, etc.? Mme Matisse ran a millinery shop so he could paint. Mrs. Martin Luther King kept his house and raised his babies.

3. It is a traumatizing experience for someone who has always thought of himself as being against any oppression

or exploitation of one human being by another to realize that in his daily life he has been accepting and implement- ing (and benefiting from) this exploitation; that his ration- alization is little different from that of the racist who says, "Black people don't feel pain" (women don't mind doing the shitwork); and that the oldest form of oppression in history has been the oppression of 50 percent of the popula- tion by the other 50 percent.

4. Arm yourself with some knowledge of the psychology of oppressed peoples everywhere, and a few facts about the animal kingdom. I admit playing top wolf or who runs the gorillas is silly but as a last resort men bring it up all the time. Talk about bees. If you feel really hostile bring up the sex life of spiders. They have sex. She bites off his head.

The psychology of oppressed peoples is not silly. Jews, immigrants, black men and all women have employed the same psychological mechanisms to survive: admiring the oppressor, glorifying the oppressor, wanting to be like the oppressor, wanting the oppressor to like them, mostly be- cause the oppressor held all the power.

5. In a sense, all men everywhere are slightly schizoid— divorced from the reality of maintaining life. This makes it easier for them to play games with it. It is almost a cliche that women feel greater grief at sending a son off to a war or losing him to that war because they bore him, suckled him, and raised him. The men who foment those wars did none of those things and have a more superficial estimate of the worth of human life. One hour a day is a low estimate of the amount of time one has to spend "keeping" oneself. By foisting this off on others, man has seven hours a week —one working day more to play with his mind and not his human needs. Over the course of generations it is easy to see whence evolved the horrifying abstractions of modern life.

6. With the death of each form of oppression, life changes and new forms evolve. English aristocrats at the turn of the century were horrified at the idea of enfran- chising working men—were sure that it signaled the death of civilization and a return to barbarism. Some working men were even deceived by this line. Similarly with the minimum wage, abolition of slavery, and female suffrage. Life changes but it goes on. Don't fall for any line about the death of everything if men take a turn at the dishes.

They will imply that you are holding back the revolution (their revolution). But you are advancing it (your revolu- tion).

7. Keep checking up. Periodically consider who's ac- tually doing the jobs. These things have a way of back- sliding so that a year later once again the woman is doing everything. After a year make a list of jobs the man has rarely if ever done. You will find cleaning pots, toilets, re- frigerators and ovens high on the list. Use time sheets if necessary. He will accuse you of being petty. He is above that sort of thing (housework). Bear in mind what the worst jobs are, namely the ones that have to be done every day or several times a day. Also the ones that are dirty— it's more pleasant to pick up books, newspapers, etc., than to wash dishes. Alternate the bad jobs. It's the daily grind that gets you down. Also make sure that you don't have the responsibility for the housework with occasional help from him. "I'll cook dinner for you tonight" implies it's really your job and isn't he a nice guy to do some of it for you.

8. Most men had a rich and rewarding bachelor life during which they did not starve or become encrusted with crud or buried under the litter. There is a taboo that says women mustn't strain themselves in the presence of men— we haul around 50 pounds of groceries if we have to but aren't allowed to open a jar if there is someone around to do it for us. The reverse side of the coin is that men aren't supposed to be able to take care of themselves without a woman. Both are excuses for making women do the house- work.

9. Beware of the double whammy. He won't do the little things he always did because you're now a "Liberated Woman," right? Of course he won't do anything else either....

I was just finishing this when my husband came in and asked what I was doing. Writing a paper on housework. Housework? he said. Housework? Oh my god how trivial can you get? A paper on housework.

The Liberation of Children

DEBORAH BABCOX

A friend of mine called me recently, disturbed about her sister-in-law. The woman had given birth to a baby several weeks before, and when she got home from the hospital, she had slipped into a state of utter depression. She cried all the time and was very irritable, insisting that she was too weak to take care of the baby and certainly couldn't manage the housework. Her mother and mother-in-law had been going over every day to help, but they were beginning to feel she should snap out of it. Would I go over with her and try to talk to the woman?

I went reluctantly—I had never known the woman well—and it was worse than I could have imagined. She was listless, uninterested in the baby, and generally distracted. She kept getting up to walk idly about the room, forgetting what she'd been saying. Twice while we were there she burst into tears when her mother-in-law asked her to do something—hold the baby for a minute, or get some coffee cups from the cupboard. "How can you stand it!" she wailed to me. "A baby takes over your life.... I can't even take a shower with it in the house!"

I had remembered the woman as being a reasonable person, not unusually self-centered or unstable, and while many women are afflicted with similar feelings after having a baby, she was obviously suffering from this depression more than most. I left the house feeling very depressed myself . . . for both the mother and the baby. The mother's condition seemed to border on real mental illness, but her family was treating her as if she were a spoiled child who would snap out of it at any time. I didn't know if they would ever seek treatment for her, and if they didn't, what would happen to the child? He already seemed strangely

subdued, not a very responsive baby. I hated to think of him growing up bewildered and hurt, an unwitting victim of his mother's situation. So many people—most of my friends, in fact—complain all the time about the horrible things their mothers did (or do) to them, and few of them have been able to come to terms with their feelings about it even as supposedly mature adults.

And for perhaps the first time, I really began to connect that with my difficulties with my children. Heaven knows I understood the emotions of the woman whose house I had just left all too well. I remember vividly standing in my doorway, tears streaming down my cheeks, as I watched my mother leave for her home 1,000 miles away, leaving me alone for the first time with my newborn son. I was twenty-six, quite well aware of the responsibilities involved in having a child and of the limitations that would be placed on my freedom. I had wanted—longed—to have that baby, but somehow all the education and thinking in the world can't prepare you for the gut-level realization of how a baby imprisons you with its dependence.

The difference between us was really only one of degree. I had, in the end, learned to cope, and even accept the idea that I had to do housework, and I didn't have much confidence that she would. Even now, I don't always find life easy with my two wild little boys, but I am charmed by them anyway. We enjoy each other, and I would rather stay home and take care of them than do most other jobs I can think of.

Even so, there are days when their sheer energy makes for inevitable conflict. Once, when he was about two years old, my older son came in early to our bedroom to lie down beside me and drink his bottle. After a few minutes of lying there, humming to himself, he sat up and looked at me with a surprised expression. "You are a nice Mommy!" he said. Evidently he had gone to bed feeling about me exactly as I had felt about him—that I was a monster! And we both had recovered our good nature during the night, because by the morning I thought him delightful, too. But there are still more days than I care to think about when everything in the household falls apart and I feel like taking to my bed and pulling the covers over my head, grieving in my heart for the injury I have that day done my children. Why me? Why should I feel so deeply this all-encompassing re-

sponsibility for them that is sometimes so corrosive?

I do know that it is very much a part of our tradition. When the first child-raising literature began to appear in America at the beginning of the nineteenth century great emphasis was placed on the exclusive role of the mother in the forming of her child's character. Industrialization and urbanization were accelerating, and the role of the father and of men in general in the upbringing of children was declining markedly. Women were taking over most of the teaching of young children in the newly established public school system, and more and more fathers worked out and away from their homes.

In'the nineteenth century, of course, the moral character of the developing child was the mother's crucial responsibility. (The essential depravity of the child had to be overcome by her loving guidance and the purity of her example.) These days we are more modern: mothers are only responsible for the child's adjustment to society and its intelligence. Thus, Dr. Spock warns in his new book that women had best forget about "liberation" and stay home with the children, or society will suffer. And Burton White at Harvard finds that superior ability in school is the result of a child's having been nurtured by a "super-mother" who lavishes love and attention and conversation on her small baby.

All of this may be quite true, but at what price do we place such exclusive responsibility on the mother for the child's well-being? Almost everyone I grew up with resented their mothers terribly; almost every young mother I know resents in some degree her children's dependence on her. It seems to me that it places intolerable burdens on both mothers and children to bind them so closely together, and both are hurt by it. Dr. Spock is wrong, though the problem he speaks to is a real one. He sees that children are growing up in this society without the emotional support they need to be healthy adults. But the source of that difficulty is not that women are too free: it lies in the fact that they are still too restricted by the exclusive bonds of child-care to be good mothers. To raise a child to be self-confident, loving, curious, and capable of autonomous behavior is extremely difficult. It requires a great deal of self-control, understanding, and love, and one mother in this kind of family (a nuclear family) with the father gone

most of the time, is most likely to lack just those qualities.

There is no reason that men and women should not share the care of their children to the benefit of all concerned; neither men or women are more biologically suited for doing dishes or deciding whether a child should wear its boots, and it's unfair to make these things the exclusive responsibility of the mother. It is unfair to women, who are then forced to live through other people's lives and devote themselves to the day-to-day well-being of the other members of the family. It is also unfair, and probably destructive, to the children. Since it is the mother who is alone with the children most in the circumstances in which most of us now live, and since it is she whose life is most restricted by them, she is naturally the one most likely to injure them.

And how can a girl growing up in this society fail to be ambivalent about motherhood? She is ceaselessly exhorted to be attractive, tend to her makeup and hair color, be smart but not too smart, get a good job, but only so as to be able to meet eligible men—all for what? Why, to get married, to stay home and take care of baby, in soap-powder bliss. Even those of us who scoff at these images are affected by them? they subtly contribute to our expectations of ourselves and our future lives. We imagine ourselves the impeccable housewives in all the TV ads, perhaps with part-time jobs, contented, sweet-smelling babies and self-cleaning ovens to make our lives manageable—or even that hackneyed favorite, the lovely wife greeting her husband at the door every evening with his slippers and a drink. Most women find out very quickly that babies don't permit that kind of nonsense, and that working with children is no picnic. It's difficult to provide for them during the day, and then there's all that housework to do in the evenings—which all of our "modern conveniences" have done little to make more convenient. And the realization that your life is no longer your own is often quite a startling one, trite as that may sound to unmarried nonmothers (who always think, "Oh, that won't happen to me____").

But I think that life in our small families is often quite difficult for men, too, and when a woman who finds that her life is hard turns to her husband for sympathy and help, she may find herself rebuffed. A young man may find the

financial responsibility of his family burdensome. Perhaps he hadn't realized, either, how his freedom would be restricted. He will probably often come in from a demanding job, expecting to relax, watch TV, and be comforted by his loving family, only to find that his wife has been waiting all day for him to come home so she could relax. Chances are that each feels he or she has the harder life, and that the other should understand and be sympathetic. Both parents will probably have expectations of each other and of the children that they are hardly aware of, and both may feel disgruntled and resentful when these are not fulfilled.

It can't be said to be anybody's fault. It is the way in which we live together that makes the life of each member of the family difficult. Most popular psychologists and the women's magazines recognize these problems, but their advice is geared toward helping people adjust to them. Perhaps we should begin to consider, instead, that we may have reached a point in the development of our society in which the nuclear families we have come to accept as the norm no longer serve to provide their members with the solace and support they need to deal with the society. Instead, the tensions within the family are likely to undermine the individual's confidence and stability. We are encouraged to find our only emotional support within our small families; usually we are not prepared or able to go elsewhere for sympathy or affection, especially from members of the opposite sex. But the tensions we encounter in our families make it rather unlikely that each of us can get support, understanding, and affection we need there—everybody is demanding too much of too few people.

I suppose it can be said that the nuclear family still serves another important function and that is the function of the socialization of children, of training them in the behavior and values most acceptable to society. As a basically capitalist society, this one values competitiveness and individual achievement. But a constantly striving person, interested in consumption for himself and his family, may not be especially concerned about other people's welfare, and great social and personal conflict will be the result.

The development of the nuclear family has paralleled, everywhere in the world and in history, the development of industrialization, urbanization, and the rise of ideas about individual liberty and individual achievement. But in-

dividualism carried to extremes can only lead to an alienation and loneliness that is both socially and psychologically destructive.

I think small families do indeed tend to produce children who are competitive and insecure, who are taught to seek self-fulfillment but lack self-confidence. They are "oppressed" children, who need to be liberated. Freedom, for children, does not mean lack of authority, which is something they need. It entails having both adults and teachers who are willing to let the children grow, discover, and learn according to his inner necessities and not according to some arbitrary adult standard. But when mothers and fathers and children are so oppressively dependent upon one another and only upon one another, that freedom can't be offered to the children easily. So they are told to use initiative, but follow the rules; value freedom but "don't talk back to your father" and "clean your room before you go out"; they are encouraged to value money and respect their possessions, but forced to share things and not be too possessive.

If a child is dependent on only two adults—and really mostly on one, the mother—for so much of his emotional well-being and psychic health he is terribly at their mercy. If the parents happen to be sick or warped, the child will be injured. If they are too busy or worn down by hard work and lack of money to show much affection or support, he will no doubt feel unloved and unworthy. The child in a small family may find it difficult to see himself and the adults in any sort of perspective; he will find it difficult as he grows not to blame people very personally for whatever they do, himself included.

Of course there are reasonably happy families and reasonably well-adjusted children, but I think even many fairly happy people bear a residue of guilt, anger, and lack of confidence deep within them, and it contributes to the general loneliness, alienation, and lack of social concern so pervasive in our society.

The damage done to children is not always merely emotional. Dr. Ray Heifer, of the University of Colorado School of Medicine, says that more children under five die each year from injuries inflicted by their parents or guardians than from TB, whooping cough, diabetes, rheumatic fever and appendicitis combined. In his book

The Battered Child, Dr. Heifer estimates that 60,000 children in the United States are willfully burned, smothered, or starved every year. These are from educated as well as uneducated families, rich and poor. In addition, the incidence of serious mental disturbance in American children is higher than in almost any other country in the world. Suicide among children has been increasing, as has drug addiction. All of us need to find more cooperative ways of living. But I think in seeking to liberate women and children, especially, from the conflicts and tensions within the family it is necessary to consider alternatives very carefully.

Certainly there should be child-care centers on a much larger scale than we now have them, to give women options in their lives they do not now have. But if women were to drop their children off at day-care centers in the morning, work at dreadful jobs all day, and pick the children up so they could go home, do all the housework, and cook their husbands' suppers—the tensions in the family wouldn't be much eased. Parents would have two salaries to spend instead of one, but they need be no less competitive with other families.

Unless men and women can come to share the responsibilities—and the joys—of child care and household work neither women nor children will be much freer. Perhaps that means enlarging our families somehow, possibly to include several couples and several children. Some people have already begun to move toward new kinds of cooperative living, and it may be that communal "families" will be the rule in future societies. There are obvious advantages, some economic, but not least psychological. Several adults and several children of different ages living together may provide opportunities for the children to be intimate with several adults and not so dependent on one or two, and because the children's dependence is not felt so keenly by any one person, everyone can be more loving, less impatient. Children seem to be happier and learn better in groups of mixed ages. Everyone can get the perspective on growth processes in human beings that help them see themselves as participating in growth instead of regarding their, problems at each age as unique and insoluble.

It is important that men and women establish control

over their own lives and become accustomed to helping themselves, each other, and sharing the concern of their children. If women, whether they work or not, can think of ways to alleviate their immediate problems, good! Baby-sitting pools, play groups for the children—many things can foster cooperation among women and help mothers learn to be concerned about all the children and not just their own. Perhaps efforts could be made to get the state or city to put attendants in every playground, as is done in Denmark, so that mothers could leave their children to play safely while they do errands (or take a shower!). Maybe landlords in large buildings could be obliged to put aside an apartment or a large room for an indoor playroom. The important thing is the sharing, the gaining of options, of control over your life.

If we want to change society, we can begin by changing the kind of people we are and the kind of children we raise. People who are more loving, more concerned about each other, more secure and less competitive will have attitudes that are contrary to the ones on which our society is based, and while the creation of new attitudes is not in itself a revolution, perhaps it helps create the preconditions. The nuclear family was a product of specific social forces, and the fact that it has assumed the proportions of an ideology should not blind us to the possibility that new family forms would be more appropriate to our age. We needn't be afraid to try new ways of living or discard modes that have outlived their usefulness. History and anthropology tell us that human behavior is infinitely variable—and suggest that the possibilities for human perfection and human happiness have barely been explored.

On Day Care

LOUISE GROSS and PHYLLIS MacEWAN

Day care has become one of the central issues of the women's liberation movement. It is quite clear that free

and public day-care centers would be an important means for liberating women from the traditional tasks of child-rearing. It has been suggested—and in some places carried out—that women should demand day-care services from the institutions in which they work or study and from the large corporations which profit from and expand into the communities in which they live.

The authors of this discussion paper think it is a mistake to view day care solely as an issue of women's liberation. We would like to assert that day-care centers in which children are raised in groups by men and women could be as important for the liberation of children as it would be for the liberation of women. Group child care—if well conceived—has a radical potential through the impact it could have on children's early development. It is therefore necessary that people in the movement gain a deeper understanding of the day-care center as an environment for child-rearing.

We consider this paper to be an introduction to the problems of existing day-care centers and the possibilities for future centers. Although we have pointed out some specific areas for radicalizing a day-care center, we certainly have not developed a comprehensive model describing what an ideal day-care program would look like.

WHY DAY CARE HAS EXISTED IN THE U.S.

Historically in the United States full-day-care programs, as contrasted to half-day nursery schools, have been provided in periods of economic stress—during World War II and the depression—when women were required m the work force.1 These programs were created primarily as a service to the corporations which needed women-power, not as an educational and social opportunity for children. Although wartime day-care centers often became educational opportunities for children, their rapid closing following World War II was a clear indication that these centers had not been organized primarily to benefit children or even to

1 For example, the Kaiser Child Service Centers in Portland, Oregon, which served more that 4,000 children from November 8, 1943, to September 1, 1945.

liberate women. Rather they had been organized to facilitate the carrying out of needed production.

In the past few years there has been an upsurge of state and national government interest in developing day-care facilities for welfare mothers. This current interest parallels the expansion of day care during earlier periods of economic crisis. Today the main impetus behind the new drive for day care is the goal of lowering welfare costs by channeling welfare recipients into "desirable" occupations (like key punch operating). In both periods the official drive for day care has been motivated by the "needs" of the economy rather than by a concern for the welfare of either women or children.

WHY DAY CARE HAS NOT DEVELOPED IN THE U.S.

The underlying reason for the failure of day-care programs to develop in this country exists in the traditional ideology that young children and their mothers belong in the home. Even today a strong bias exists against the concept that day care is potentially good for children and mothers. That women should have to work and therefore have to put their children in day-care centers are circumstances which are generally considered to be necessary evils in this society.2

THE DEMAND FOR DAY CARE OF THE WOMEN'S LIBERATION MOVEMENT

The current demand for day care by the women's liberation movement springs from a rejection of the ideology which says that women belong in the home. Yet the movement's present demand parallels the historical attitude toward day care in its nonchild-centered approach. The primary reason

2 Today in the U.S. there are four million working women who have children under the age of six years, out of a total of 30 million working women. There presently are enough day-care facilities to take care of 500,000 children. Compared to a number of other Western industrialized countries the U.S. is backward in the field of day care. (Figures from New York Times, October 16, 1969)

for demanding day care is the liberation of women. While recognizing that day care is essential for women's liberation, the authors want the movement to further recognize that day care is essential for the liberation of children. Group child care, in contrast to the more isolating private home environment, has the potential of providing an environment in which children will have more opportunity to develop social sensitivity and responsibility, emotional autonomy and trust, and a wider range of intellectual interests.

The struggle for day-care centers must be considered a people's liberation issue, not just a women's issue, because children are people. Both men and women who are concerned with children's development must demand day care.

WHAT IS A DAY-CARE CENTER LIKE TODAY?

The majority of existing U.S. day-care centers, which are run as profit-making enterprises, are glorified baby-sitting services—dumping grounds—where children are bored most of the time. In these centers children are emotionally brutalized; they learn the values of obedience and passivity. They are programmed through a daily routine in which opportunities for personal choice and meaningful social relationships with adults and other children are minimal. Eating and naptime are managed in a mass-production style which values efficiency over dignity. The adults as well as the children become routinized and enslaved to the daily schedule.

In contrast, there are a few day-care centers where children have meaningful social and educational experiences, and where they participate in nonalienating play/work activities. In these centers self-directed learning and discovery are valued, and curriculum is developed in terms of the children's interests. Social cooperation is based on a rational group-problem-solving approach, rather than on rules impersonally established. Eating and resting activities are designed to be responsive to children's individual and group needs, rather than to meet the efficiency goals of the day-care operation.

WHY WE MUST DEMAND SPACE AND MONEY AND NOT THE DAY-CARE CENTERS THEMSELVES

We feel the differences among existing day-care centers reflect a conflict in values and attitudes toward human development. This conflict in the care and education of young children is directly related to conflicting values and attitudes expressed in the economic and political behavior of adults. Values in competitive enterprise and individual rather than social achievement^ respect for private property, adoration of the nuclear family—are attitudes that are nurtured in childhood and expressed in adult society.

As radicals we must understand that our goals for children are in conflict with those of the institutions—corporations and universities—from whom we will be demanding day-care services. This implies that when we make demands for day care, they should be solely in terms of money and space. The corporations and universities should have no control.

THE HIDDEN CURRICULUM

In organizing day-care centers, we need to become aware of how values and attitudes are translated into programs for young children. We need to be aware of the existence of the day-care center curriculum—hidden or explicit—• and how it affects children's development.

It is well documented that attitudes toward work, race, sex (including male/female roles), initiative, and cooperation are being formed during the first five years of life. It follows that as radicals, concerned with developing a radical consciousness on these issues, we need to be seriously concerned with what happens inside the day-care center.

The kind of interaction that takes place between the child and the human and physical environment (be it a home or a day-care center) affects the kind of capacities that the child will have as an adult. The capacity to feel deeply and be sensitive toward other people, the capacity to trust oneself and use one's initiative, the capacity to solve

problems in a creative and collective way—these are all capacities that can be given their foundation or stifled in the first five years.

By the age of four, children are assimilating the idea that a woman's place is in the home. Three- and four-year-old children are already learning that it's better to be white. They are learning to follow directions and rules without asking why. They are learning how to deny their own feelings and needs in order to win approval from adults.

These are examples of learnings that most commonly result from early childhood experiences. These are elements of the hidden curriculum that usually characterize the child's environment in our society.

THE CHILD'S PERSPECTIVE

To a young child curriculum in a day-care center is everything that he or she experiences: painting a picture, having to take a nap, experimenting with sand and water, wetting your pants or making it there on time, listening to an interesting story, eating lunch, riding a trike, being socked in the nose and having it bleed, observing one teacher being bossed by the other teacher, being told that blue is called blue, figuring out a hard puzzle, being hugged by the teacher, watching a building be demolished, seeing the mother guinea pig give birth, having everyone sing happy birthday to you, hammering a nail hard, and waiting to be picked up.

Although as adults we can place these events into categories of social, intellectual, emotional and physical experiences, for the young child each event is experienced in a total way. That is, the experience of painting a picture simultaneously involves emotional, intellectual, physical, and even social capacities. Emotionally a child may be using paint to express feelings of anger, loneliness, contentment, or boredom. Intellectually a child may be using the paint to discover what happens when different colors are mixed or learning how to write different letters. Physically, the child uses the paintbrush to explore her/his own coordination, movement, and rhythm. Socially, painting can give the child an opportunity to be alone, with a ffjend,

or in a group—depending on how the teacher has structured the painting experience.

The adult can seldom know the value that a particular experience has for a particular child. The same experience (e.g., painting a picture) will have a different value for different children, a different value to the same child at different times.

THE TEACHER'S IDEOLOGY

The teacher's values and attitudes form the base from which the structure and therefore the style of the group are formed. A single activity such as "juice time" illustrates how a teacher's goals and attitudes affect the way the situation is structured. One teacher might have three-year-olds pour her/his own juice from a pitcher, whereas another would have the children take already filled cups from a tray. What underlies the difference? Presumably both teachers know that three-year-olds are in the process of developing muscle as well as eye-hand coordination. Also, three-year-olds are usually concerned with becoming independent and self-sufficient. By letting children pour their own juice the teacher is structuring the situation to allow for growth—however groping—in the areas of self-reliance and manual dexterity. By filling cups for the children, the other teacher is structuring the situation for maximum efficiency and neatness: to keep the routine running smoothly. One teacher uses juice time as an opportunity for children to gain some control over their activity, while the other teacher uses juice time to take control. In the first case the child gets to act upon the environment, while in the second case the child is treated as a passive recipient.

The traditional "housekeeping corner" of the nursery school and day-care center is another dramatic illustration of how the teacher's values expressed in actions can have impact.

Let us take two teachers who have undergone similar training in early childhood education and have learned that the housekeeping corner provides an oppprtunity for children to "act out" adult roles, thus contributing to their

"ego growth" and "sex identification." One of the teachers sets up a housekeeping corner which encourages girls to be Mommy, the Housewife, and boys to be Daddy, the Worker. The other teacher sets up an area in the classroom in which both boys and girls are given opportunities to cook, play with dolls and trucks, sew, hammer, build with blocks, wash clothes and dishes, dress up as doctors, firemen and firewomen, construction workers, and other interesting occupations. In other words, one teacher uses the housekeeping corner to promote the learning of traditional stereotyped roles, while the other transforms the housekeeping corner into an area where children can explore and test out various adult activities.

MEN IN THE DAY-CARE CENTER—WORK IN THE DAY-CARE CENTER

Another way that children learn the traditional stereotyped roles is through observing that almost all day-care teachers are women. The children quickly comprehend the concept that there is "women's work" and "men's work." This in itself would be sufficient argument for us to insist that men be included at all levels in the day-care staff.

Furthermore, without including men in the day-care program, the demand for day care runs the risk of contradicting the goals of women's liberation. Women should not demand simply that there be special institutions for child care, but also that men take an equal role in child care.

There is another good reason that both men and women should be involved in the day-care center. Teaching/working/playing with children can be an extraordinarily creative and nonalienating job. What often makes the caretakers of young children—teachers and mothers—feel apologetic about their occupation and what deprives men the opportunity of working with children is the fact that our society considers child care "women's work"—a low-status, cheap-labor occupation biologically relegated to the weaker, "sensitive" sex.

A day-care program which had a sexually integrated staff—and salaries in keeping with the value of this work—

would make child-rearing a desirable and rewarding occupation. Finally, it seems self-evident that it's best for children—emotionally, socially and politically—that they be cared for equally by both men and women.

SOME CONCLUSIONS

Day care is a people's liberation issue. Women, of course, will gain from a good day-care program, but in the final analysis women's liberation depends on an entire transformation of society, not just on one institution. However, that one institution, if radically structured, can help obtain that transformation of society. The way children develop is part of that transformation.

In order to develop a radically structured day-care program we must not allow any control to be in the hands of the universities and corporations. Our demand to these institutions for day care must be a demand solely for space and money. Control must rest with those who struggle for and use the day-care center.

One of our prime tasks in that struggle is to develop an awareness of what a good day-care program can be. We have simply attempted to make clear in this paper that day care is a complex issue.3 The self-education which the movement must undergo on day care should be as thorough as on more obviously political issues.

3 There are numerous implications of day-care organizing which we have not included in this paper, such as the questions of developing the day-care center as a base for community political action, the day-care center as a place to organize parents around their children's rights in the public-school system, and the whole issue of day care for infants and collective child-rearing.

Women and Economics[1]

CHARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN

The economic status of the human race in any nation, at any time, is governed mainly by the activities of the male: the female obtains her share in the racial advance only through him.

Studied individually, the facts are even more plainly visible, more open and familiar. From the day laborer to the millionaire, the wife's worn dress or flashing jewels, her low roof or her lordly one, her weary feet or her rich equipage—these speak of the economic ability of the husband. The comfort, the luxury, the necessities of life itself, which the woman receives, are obtained by the husband, and given her by him. And, when the woman, left alone with no man to "support" her, tries to meet her own economic necessities, the difficulties which confront her prove conclusively what the general economic status of the woman is. None can deny these patent facts—that the economic status of women generally depends upon that of men generally, and that the economic status of women individually depends upon that of men individually, those men to whom they are related. But we are instantly confronted by the commonly received opinion that, although it must be admitted that men make and distribute the wealth of the world, yet women earn their share of it as wives. This assumes either that the husband is in the position of employer and the wife as employee, or that marriage is a "partnership," and the wife an equal factor with the husband in producing wealth.

Economic independence is a relative condition at best. In the broadest sense, all living things are economically

1 Originally published in 1894.

dependent upon others—the animals upon the vegetables, and man upon both. In a narrower sense, all social life is economically interdependent, man producing collectively what he could by no possibility produce separately. But, in the closest interpretation, individual economic independence among human beings means that the individual pays for what he gets, works for what he gets, gives to the other an equivalent for what the other gives him. I depend on the shoemaker for shoes, and the tailor for coats; but, if I give the shoemaker and the tailor enough of my own labor as a house-builder to pay for the shoes and coats they give me, I retain my personal independence. I have not taken of their product, and given nothing of mine. As long as what I get is obtained by what I give, I am economically independent.

Women consume economic goods. What economic product do they give in exchange for what they consume? The claim that marriage is a partnership, in which the two persons married produce wealth which neither of them, separately, could produce, will not bear examination. A man happy and comfortable can produce more than one unhappy and uncomfortable, but this is as true of a father or a son as of a husband. To take from a man any of the conditions which make him happy and strong is to cripple his industry, generally speaking. But those relatives who make him happy are not therefore his business partners, and entitled to share his income.

Grateful return for happiness conferred is not the method of exchange in a partnership. The comfort a man takes with his wife is not in the nature of a business partnership, nor are her frugality and industry. A housekeeper, in her place, might be as frugal, as industrious, but would not therefore be a partner. Man and wife are partners truly in their mutual obligation to their children—their common love, duty, and service. But a manufacturer who marries, or a doctor, or a lawyer, does not take a partner in his business when he takes a partner in parenthood, unless his wife is also a manufacturer, a doctor, or a lawyer. Iii his business, she cannot even advise wisely without training and experience. To love her husband, the composer, does not enable her to compose; and the loss of a man's wife, though it may break his heart, does not cripple his business, unless his mind is affected by grief. She is in no sense a

business partner, unless she contributes capital or experience or labor, as a man would in like relation. Most men would hesitate very seriously before entering a business partnership with any woman, wife or not.

If the wife is not, then, truly a business partner, in what way does she earn from her husband the food, clothing, and shelter she receives at his hands? By house service, it will be instantly replied. This is the general misty idea upon the subject—that women earn all they get, and more, by house service. Here we come to a very practical and definite economic ground. Although not producers of wealth, womenr serve in the final processes of preparation and distribution. Their labor in the household has a genuine economic value.

For a certain percentage of persons to serve other persons, in order that the ones so served may produce more, is a contribution not to be overlooked. The labor of women in the house, certainly, enables men to produce more wealth than they otherwise could; and in this way women are economic factors in society. But so are horses. The labor of horses enables men to produce more wealth than they otherwise could. The horse is an economic factor in society. But the horse is not economically independent, nor is the woman. If a man plus a valet can perform more useful service than he could minus a valet, then the valet is performing useful service. But, if the valet is the property of the man, is obliged to perform this service, and is not paid for it, he is not economically independent.

The labor which the wife performs in the household is given as part of her functional duty, not as employment. The wife of the poor man, who works hard in a small house, doing all the work for the family, or the wife of the rich man, who wisely and gracefully manages a large house and administers its functions, each is entitled to fair pay for services rendered.

To take this ground and hold it honestly, wives, as earners through domestic service, are entitled to the wages of cooks, housemaids, nursemaids, seamstresses, or housekeepers, and to no more. This would of course reduce the spending money of the wives of the rich, and put it out of the power of the poor man to "support" a wife at all, unless, indeed, the poor man faced the situation fully, paid his wife her wages as house servant, and then she and he

combined their funds in the support of their children. He would be keeping a servant: she would be helping keep the family. But nowhere on earth would there be "a rich woman" by these means. Even the highest class of private housekeeper, useful as her services are, does not accumulate a fortune. She does not buy diamonds and sables and keep a carriage. Things like these are not earned by house service.

But the salient fact in this discussion is that, whatever the economic value of the domestic industry of women is, they do not get it. The women who do the most work get the least money, and the women who have the most money do the least work. Their labor is neither given nor taken as a factor in economic exchange. It is held to be their duty as women to do this work; and their economic status bears no relation to their domestic labors, unless an inverse one. Moreover, if they were thus fairly paid—given what they earned, and no more—all women working in this way would be reduced to the economic status of the house servant. Few women—or men either—care to face this condition. The ground that women earn their living by domestic labor is instantly forsaken, and we are told that they obtain their livelihood as mothers. This is a peculiar position. We speak of it commonly enough, and often with deep feeling, but without due analysis.

In treating of an economic exchange, asking what return in goods or labor women make for the goods and labor given them—either to the race collectively or to their husbands individually—what payment women make for their clothes and shoes and furniture and food and shelter, we are told that the duties and services of the mother entitle her to support.

If this is so, if motherhood is an exchangeable commodity given by women in payment for clothes and food, then we must of course find some relation between the quantity or quality of the motherhood and the quantity and quality of the pay. This being true, then the women who are not mothers have no economic status at all; and the economic status of those who are must be shown to be relative to their motherhood. This is obviously absurd. The childless wife has as much money as the mother of many—more; for the children of the latter consume what would otherwise be hers; and the inefficient mother is no

less provided for than the efficient one. Visibly, and upon the face of it, women are not maintained in economic prosperity proportioned to their motherhood. Motherhood bears no relation to their economic status. Among primitive races, it is true—in the patriarchal period, for instance—there was some truth in this position. Women being of no value whatever save as bearers of children, their favor and indulgence did bear direct relation to maternity; and they had reason to exult on more grounds than one when they could boast a son. Today, however, the maintenance of the woman is not conditioned upon this. A man is not allowed to discard his wife because she is barren, The claim of motherhood as a factor in economic exchange is false today. But suppose it were true. Are we willing to hold this ground, even in theory? Are we willing to consider motherhood as a business, a form of commercial exchange? Are the cares and duties of the mother, her travail and her love, commodities to be exchanged for bread?

It is revolting so to consider them; and, if we dare face our own thoughts, and force them to their logical conclusion, we shall see that nothing could be more repugnant to human feeling, or more socially and individually injurious, than to make motherhood a trade. Driven off these alleged grounds of women's economic independence; shown that women, as a class, neither produce nor distribute wealth; that women, as individuals, labor mainly as house servants, are not paid as such, and would not be satisfied with such an economic status if they were so paid; that wives are not business partners or co-producers of wealth with their husbands, unless they actually practice the same profession; that they are not salaried as mothers, and that it would be unspeakably degrading if they were—what remains to those who deny that women are supported by men? This (and a most amusing position it is)—that the function of maternity unfits a woman for economic production, and, therefore, it is right that she should be supported by her husband.

The ground is taken that the human female is not economically independent, that she is fed by the male of her species. In denial of this, it is first alleged that she is economically independent—that she does support herself by her own industry in the house. It being shown that there is no relation between the economic status of woman and

the labor she performs in the home, it is then alleged that not as house servant, but as mother, does woman earn her living. It being shown that the economic status of woman bears no relation to her motherhood, either in quantity or quality, it is then alleged that motherhood renders a woman unfit for economic production, and that, therefore, it is right that she be supported by her husband. Before going farther, let us seize upon this admission—that she is supported by her husband.

Without going into either the ethics or the necessities of the case, we have reached so much common ground: the female of genus homo is supported by the male. Whereas, in other species of animals, male and female alike graze and browse, hunt and kill, climb, swim, dig, run, and fly for their livings, in our species the female does not seek her own living in the specific activities of our race, but is fed by the male.

Now as to the alleged necessity. Because of her maternal duties, the human female is said to be unable to get her own living. As the maternal duties of other females do not unfit them for getting their own living and also the livings of their young, it would seem that the human maternal duties require the segregation of the entire energies of the mother to the service of the child during her entire adult life, or so large a proportion of them that not enough remains to devote to the individual interests of the mother.

Such a condition, did it exist, would of course excuse and justify the pitiful dependence of the human female, and her support by the male. As the queen bee, modified entirely to maternity, is supported, not by the male, to be sure, but by her co-workers, the "old maids," the barren working bees, who labor so patiently and lovingly in their branch of the maternal duties of the hive, so would the human female, modified entirely to maternity, become unfit for any other exertion, and a helpless dependent.

Is this the condition of human motherhood? Does the human mother, by her motherhood, thereby lose control of brain and body, lose power and skill and desire for any other work? Do we see before us the human race, with all its females segregated entirely to the uses of motherhood, consecrated, set apart, specially developed, spending every power of their nature on the service of their children?

We do not. We see the human mother worked far harder

than a mare, laboring her life long in the service, not of her children only, but of men; husbands, brothers, fathers, whatever male relatives she has; for mother and sister also; for the church a little, if she is allowed; for society, if she is able; for charity and education and reform—working in many ways that are not the ways of motherhood.

It is not motherhood that keeps the housewife on her feet from dawn till dark; it is house service, not child service. Women work longer and harder than most men, and not solely in maternal duties. The savage mother carries the burdens, and does all menial service for the tribe. The peasant mother toils in the fields, and the workingman's wife in the home. Many mothers, even now, are wage earners for the family, as well as bearers and rearers of it And the women who are not so occupied, the women who belong to rich men—here perhaps is the exhaustive devotion to maternity which is supposed to justify an admitted economic dependence. But we do not find it even among these. Women of ease and wealth provide for their children better care than the poor woman can; but they do not spend more time upon it themselves, nor more care and effort. They have other occupation.

In spite of her supposed segregation to maternal duties, the human female, the world over, works at extramaternal duties for hours enough to provide her with an independent living, and then is denied independence on the ground that motherhood prevents her working!

If this ground were tenable, we should find a world full of women who never lifted a finger save in the service of their children, and of men who did all the work besides, and waited on the women whom motherhood prevented from waiting on themselves. The ground is not tenable. A human female, healthy, sound, has 25 years of life before she is a mother, and should have 25 years more after the period of such maternal service as is expected of her has been given. The duties of grandmotherhood are surely not alleged as preventing economic independence.

The working power of the mother has always been a prominent factor in human life. She is the worker par excellence, but her work is not such as to affect her economic status. Her living, all that she gets—food, clothing, ornaments, amusements, luxuries—these bear no relation to her power to produce wealth, to her services in the

house, or to her motherhood. These things bear relation only to the man she marries, the man she depends on—to how much he has and how much he is willing to give her. The women whose splendid extravagance dazzles the world, whose economic goods are the greatest, are often neither houseworkers nor mothers, but simply the women who hold most power over the men who have the most money. The female of genus homo is economically dependent on the male. He is her food supply.

The Political Economy of Women's Liberation (Excerpt)

MARGARET BENSTON

The argument is often advanced that, under neocapitalism, the work in the home has been much reduced. Even if this is true, it is not structurally relevant. Except for the very rich, who can hire someone to do it, there is for most women an irreducible minimum of necessary labor involved in caring for home, husband, and children. For a married woman without children this irreducible minimum of work probably takes 15 to 20 hours a week; for a woman with small children the minimum is probably 70 or 80 hours a week.1 (There is some resistance to regarding child-rearing as a job. That labor is involved, i.e., the production of use-value, can be clearly seen when exchange-value is also involved—when the work is done by baby-sitters, nurses, child-care centers, or teachers. An economist has already pointed out the paradox that if a man marries his house-

1 Such figures can easily be estimated. For example, a married woman without children is expected each week to cook and wash up (ten hours), clean house (four hours), do laundry (one hour), and shop for food (one hour). The figures are minimum times required each week for such work. The total, 16 hours, is probably unrealistically low; even so, it is close to half of a regular work week. A mother with young children must spend at least six or seven days a week working close to 12 hours.

keeper, he reduces the national income, since the money he gives her is no longer counted as wages.) The reduction of housework to the minimums given is also expensive; for low-income families more labor is required. In any case, household work remains structurally the same—a matter of private production.

One function of the family, the one taught to us in school and the one which is popularly accepted, is the satisfaction of emotional needs: the needs for closeness, community, and warm, secure relationships. This society provides few other ways of satisfying such needs; for example, work relationships or friendships are not expected to be nearly as important as a man-woman-with-children relationship. Even other ties of kinship are increasingly secondary. This function of the family is important in stabilizing it so that it can fulfill the second, purely economic function discussed above. The wage earner, the husband-father, whose earnings support himself, also "pays for" the labor done by the mother-wife and supports the children. The wages of a man buy the labor of two people. The crucial importance of this second function of the family can be seen when the family unit breaks down in divorce. The continuation of the economic function is the major concern where children are involved; the man must continue to pay for the labor of the woman. His wage is very often insufficient to enable him to support a second family. In this case his emotional needs are sacrificed to the necessity to support his ex-wife and children. That is, when there is a conflict the economic function of the family very often takes precedence over the emotional one. And this in a society which teaches that the major function of the family is the satisfaction of emotional needs.2

As an economic unit, the nuclear family is a valuable stabilizing force in capitalist society. Since the production which is done in the home is paid for by the husband-father's earnings, his ability to withhold his labor from the market is much reduced. Even his flexibility in changing jobs is limited. The woman, denied an active place in the market, has little control over the conditions that govern her life. Her economic dependence is reflected in emotional

2 For evidence of such teaching, see any high school text on the family.

dependence, passivity, and other "typical" female personality traits. She is conservative, fearful, supportive of the status quo.

Furthermore, the structure of this family is such that it is an ideal consumption unit. But this fact, which is widely noted in women's liberation literature, should not be taken to mean that this is its primary function. If the above analysis is correct, the family should be seen primarily as a production unit for housework and child-bearing. Everyone in capitalist society is a consumer; the structure of the family simply means that it is particularly well suited to encourage consumption. Women in particular are good consumers; this follows naturally from their responsibility for matters in the home. Also, the inferior status of women, their general lack of a strong sense of worth and identity, make them more exploitable than men and hence better consumers.

The history of women in the industrialized sector of the economy has depended simply on the labor needs of that sector. Women function as a massive reserve army of labor. When labor is scarce (early industrialization, the two world wars, etc.), then women form an important part of the labor force. When there is less demand for labor (as now under neocapitalism), women become a surplus labor force—but one for which their husbands and not society are economically responsible. The "cult of the home" makes its reappearance during times of labor surplus and is used to channel women out of the market economy. This is relatively easy since the pervading ideology ensures that no one, man or woman, takes women's participation in the labor force very seriously. Women's real work, we are taught, is in the home; this holds whether or not they are married, single, or the heads of households.

At all times household work is the responsibility of women. When they are working outside the home, they must somehow manage to get both outside job and housework done (or they supervise a substitute for the housework) . Women, particularly married women with children, who work outside the home simply do two jobs; their participation in the labor force is only allowed if they continue to fulfill their first responsibility in the home. This is particularly evident in countries like Russia and those in Eastern Europe where expanded opportunities for women

in the labor force have not brought about a corresponding expansion in their liberty. Equal access to jobs outside the home, while one of the preconditions for women's liberation, will not in itself be sufficient to give equality for women; as long as work in the home remains a matter of private production and is the responsibility of women, they will simply carry a double work load.

A second prerequisite for women's liberation which follows from the above analysis is the conversion of the work now done in the home as private production into work to be done in the public economy.3 To be more specific, this means that child-rearing should no longer be the responsibility solely of the parents. Society must begin to take responsibility for children; the economic dependence of women and children on the husband-father must be ended. The other work that goes on in the home must also be changed—communal eating places and laundries for example. When such work is moved into the public sector, then the material basis for discrimination against women will be gone.

These are only preconditions. The idea of the inferior status of women is deeply rooted in the society and will take a great deal of effort to eradicate. But once the structures which produce and support that idea are changed, then, and only then, can we hope to make progress. It is possible, for example, that a change to communal eating places would simply mean that women are moved from a home kitchen to a communal one. This would be an advance, to be sure, particularly in a socialist society where work would not have the inherently exploitive nature it does now. Once women are freed from private production in the home, it will probably be very difficult to maintain for any long period of time a rigid definition of jobs by sex. This illustrates the interrelation between the two preconditions given above: true equality in job opportunity is probably impossible without freedom from housework, and the industrialization of housework is unlikely unless women are leaving the home for jobs.

The changes in production necessary to get women out of the home might seem to be, in theory, possible under cap-

3 This is stated clearly by early Marxist writers besides Engels.

italism. One of the sources of women's liberation movements may be the fact that alternative capitalized forms of home production now exist. Day care is available, even if inadequate and perhaps expensive; convenience foods, home delivery of meals, and takeout meals are widespread; laundries and cleaners offer bulk rates. However, cost usually prohibits a complete dependence on such facilities, and they are not available everywhere, even in North America. These should probably then be regarded as embryonic forms rather than completed structures. However, they clearly stand as alternatives to the present system of getting such work done. Particularly in North America, where the growth of "service industries" is important in maintaining the growth of the economy, the contradictions between these alternatives and the need to keep women in the home will grow.

The need to keep women in the home arises from two major aspects of the present system. First, the amount of unpaid labor performed by women is very large and very profitable to those who own the means of production. To pay women for their work, even at minimum wage scales, would imply a massive redistribution of wealth. At present, the support of a family is a hidden tax on the wage earner —his wage buys the labor power of two people. And second, there is the problem of whether the economy can expand enough to put all women to work as a part of the normally employed labor force. The war economy has been adequate to draw women partially into the economy but not adequate to establish a need for all or most of them. If it is argued that the jobs created by the industrialization of housework will create this need, then one can counter by pointing to (I) the strong economic forces operating for the status quo and against capitalization discussed above, and (2) the fact that the present service industries, which somewhat counter these forces, have not been able to keep up with the growth of the labor force as presently constituted. The present trends in the service industries simply create "underemployment" in the home; they do not create new jobs for women. So long as this situation exists, women remain a very convenient and elastic part of the industrial reserve army. Their incorporation into the labor force on terms of equality—which would create pressure for cap-

italization of housework—is possible only with an economic expansion so far achieved by neocapitalism only under conditions of full-scale war mobilization.

In addition, such structural changes imply the complete breakdown of the present nuclear family. The stabilizing consuming functions of the family, plus the ability of the cult of the home to keep women out of the labor market, serve neocapitalism too well to be easily dispensed with. And, on a less fundamental level, even if these necessary changes in the nature of household production were achieved under capitalism, it would have the unpleasant consequence of including all human relations in the cash nexus. The atomization and isolation of people in Western society is already sufficiently advanced to make it doubtful if such complete psychic isolation could be tolerated. It is likely in fact that one of the major negative emotional responses to women's liberation movements may be exactly such a fear. If this is the case, then possible alternatives—cooperatives, the kibbutz, etc.—can be cited to show that psychic needs for community and warmth can in fact be better satisfied if other structures are substituted for the nuclear family.

At best the change to capitalization of housework would only give women the same limited freedom given most men in capitalist society. This does not mean, however, that women should wait to demand freedom from discrimination. There is a material basis for women's status; we are not merely discriminated against, we are exploited. At present, our unpaid labor in the home is necessary if the entire system is to function. Pressure created by women who challenge their role will reduce the effectiveness of this exploitation. In addition, such challenges will impede the functioning of the family and may make the channeling of women out of the labor force less effective. All of these will hopefully make quicker the transition to a society in which the necessary structural changes in production can actually be made. That such a transition will require a revolution I have no doubt; our task is to make sure that revolutionary changes in the society do in fact end women's oppression.

Planned Obsolescence: The Middle-Aged Woman

ROSE GLADSTONE

As difficult as it is to be a young woman in this society, it is even harder to be middle-aged. For one thing, the middle-aged woman has endured decades more of the discrimination, humiliation, and frustration that is the daily fare of every woman's existence. The hope that presumably "springs eternal" for the young has stopped springing by middle age. The sad fact must finally be faced that this is how it's always going to be, that no heretofore closed doors are going to open, and that the few available options that existed in youth have steadily and relentlessly diminished iri number. In addition, the middle-aged woman has to cope with the special problems unique to this time of life.

If she is married and has children, she has put in some 20 years of backbreaking1 unpaid domestic labor at menial, repetitive, mind-destroying chores, in an atmosphere resembling the solitary confinement of a prison cell and with an average work week of 80 to 100 hours. If she happens to be conscious of the institutionalized nature of her oppression, then inarticulate rage and impotent despair have been her daily companions over the long years. An awareness of possible alternative life-styles without a supporting women's movement always seems to make oppressive conditions less endurable.

When she finally gets up off her knees and looks around, she discovers that one by one her children have reached college age and she must find some way to meet skyrocketing financial pressures. So she decides to enter the job market. Unfortunately, however, she has emerged from her

lOne study showed that the amount of energy expended in housework is approximately the same as that of a laborer digging ditches.

decades of domestic servitude with few, if any, marketable skills. (Statistics show that 93 percent of women over the age of twenty-five do not have college degrees and the chances are that she will be a member of this very large group.) This means that she will probably be consigned to some form of "bottom of the barrel" employment which simply transposes housekeeping drudgery to a different setting.2 If the woman happens to be nonwhite, her choices are even more severely limited. For her there is virtually no employment obtainable outside of domestic, clerical, and factory work.

The middle-aged woman will also find that she is earning considerably less than a man.3 In addition, after putting in eight hours a day typing, or clerking, or filing, or assembling, or waitressing, she faces long evenings and even longer weekends filled with housework. At the very least, her work week will be twice as long as her husband's.

If she applies for a job where youthful appearance is a prime requisite—which includes a great many of the jobs available to women—she will feel like livestock being judged at a county fair. Since only a lucky few can with- stand the ravages of time, she will frequently be turned down, depleting even further her meager store of self- esteem. In general, due to the youth fetish that exists in our society, the woman in her middle years develops a sense of obsolescence and nonexistence. In a milieu where a wom- an's appearance is considered paramount, the daily con- frontation with the mirror becomes increasingly traumatic, reflecting as it does society's estimation of her worth.

Let us now examine the hypothetical case of a woman who decides to escape the vicious cycle of deadly work and low pay by obtaining a college degree in midlife. In order not to feel uncomfortably conspicuous by attending school

2 Women do the menial work of our society. 31% of those who work are secretaries or clerks; 15% are waitresses or domestics; 14% are factory workers; only 13% are in the professions, and most of them are in such "woman's work" as school teaching and nursing. Only 2% of those earning over $10,000 a year are women."—-Dr. Richard E. Farson, Forbes Magazine, August 1, 1969, p. 44.

3 1967 metropolitan area median incomes: white male—$7,264; black male—$5,179; white female—$4,144; black female—$3,020.

with her children's contemporaries, she applies for admission to one of the "Adult Continuing Education" programs at one of the city colleges. She finds that there are at least 300 other women applying for the same program, and only 30 can be accepted. TTiis leaves 270 women right back at the starting gate.

If she decides to enter the rat race for acceptance to the program, she will have several hurdles to overcome. First, the application, an eight-page affair requiring extensive detailing of her background, work experience, community involvement, hobbies, interests, book reports, reasons for applying to the program, etc., etc. This is followed by a grueling all-day examination of everything she learned in high school 20-odd years ago. Finally, there is the sadistic "interview" with the guidance counselor, when her suitability for the program is judged in terms of personality, charm, self-confidence, articulateness, wit, graciousness, sensitivity, knowledgeability, modesty, maturity—you name it. She is, not unnaturally, frozen with terror at being so closely scrutinized and is hardly at her best.

Let us assume that she is one of the "lucky 30" and is accepted. She will find that while she is expected to spend relatively little time in class each week, her homework assignments are so mercilessly heavy that they devour every moment of her nonclass time. Instead of escaping the despised isolation of her prison/home, she is incarcerated there for long, tedious hours writing papers on such earth-shaking subjects as the metaphoric implications of John Donne's poem about the flower-flitting nymph or analyzing the sonic and cosmic reverberations of the Moog Electronic Synthesizer. In fact, most of what she has to study will be tedious and irrelevant to her past and present life experiences.

Unless she is virtually inexhaustible, she will find it necessary to forfeit her social life and become almost inaccessible to her husband and children. She will face daily domestic crises because of unperformed household tasks, since she will only have time for the most minimal of survival measures. At the end of five to ten years of such a harassed existence, she may find herself with an academic degree in one hand and a divorce decree in another, for many a marriage has severed under the strain of such a curtailment of wifely services.

As for the relationship of the middle-aged woman to her children, it reflects the tensions and conflicts of society at large. This is the period when they may present her with one or more of the current crop of teenage problems: drug addiction, premarital pregnancy, sexual promiscuity, venereal disease, etc. She may also find that they are utterly uncommunicative about their own lives but supercritical of hers. If the children get married, she will be harnessed for domestic servitude once again, this time for her grandchildren. She will be called upon for long late hours of baby-sitting and to lend a hand in all domestic crises. In return for this she will be resented and barely tolerated. She becomes obsolete as soon as she has completed her primary function in society—the procreation and rearing of the labor power needed by the profit makers. If this overall view seems too defeatist and depressing, it should be remembered that the highest rate of suicide among women occurs between the ages of forty-five and fifty-five.

The middle-aged woman who is married to a middle-class professional will observe that, as time goes on, his life becomes more creative as hers grows more barren. As he moves up into his profession he is usually offered many well-paid decision-making positions which allow him to use some of his. abilities and realize some of his growth potential -—opportunities which have always been denied her. One day of his life will be filled with more variety and challenge than a year of hers. It is inevitable that her growing bitterness over this state of affairs should contaminate the relationship and this is probably one of the main reasons why a large number of marriages break up after the children are grown.

If she is unfortunate enough to be a woman living at or below the poverty level, her life will be far more harsh. She will probably be asked to take on the complete raising of a second family, her grandchildren, when her own daughters have to work under the pressure of severe financial necessity. Thus, at a time when she is failing in health and energy, she must carry the physical and emotional burdens that exhaust even the young.

This is also a time when her own parents, if still living, may become helpless victims of chronic ailments and require a great deal of time and attention. She, herself, may start to suffer from the illnesses of middle age, the meta-

bolic slowdown, the insidious weight gain, arthritic twinges, dental problems, vision deterioration, menopausal miseries, etc.

If she happens to be a political activist, she finds, as time goes on, that her contemporaries gradually vanish. The middle-aged have become politically invisible, the women ensnared in the trap of the Feminine Mystique, the men frantically climbing the ladder of Establishment success. Thus she faces the unacceptable alternatives of being conspicuously out-of-generation in a youth-filled organization or dropping out of political movements altogether. For some, this is the most painful middle-aged dilemma of all. (Ironically enough, this even applies to the women's liberation movement, which, like all current political movements, is composed primarily of those under thirty-five.)

As a result of the whole quality of her existence, the middle-aged woman drifts through space with a sense of anomaly, alienated from her time in history, perhaps a victim of the involutional melancholia which frequently strikes after age forty. Wherever she goes she has a sense of not belonging, of having no place in society, at home only in the accustomed and despised role of domestic or work servant.

The middle-aged woman will also find that she will be held personally responsible for the defects of society. Reared during a period of depression and economic stress —her brothers sent to college, she to business school, followed by long years of family rearing—she will, nevertheless, be considered fatally flawed for not having somehow developed a creative and remunerative career. Every time she has to answer with the denigrating "housewife" to the dreaded question, "What do you do?" she feels a sword stab of guilt and worthlessness.

When this discarded creature, her children gone, her husband at work, sits alone in an empty house thinking of how to find the great "new life" all the ladies' magazines insist is waiting for her somewhere out there, all she sees are locked doors marked: "Too Old," "Too Ugly," "Too Fat," "Too 'Gray," "Too Poor," "Too Uneducated," "Too Slow," "Too Sick." And the biggest door of all is marked: "MEN ONLY!"

With all those locked doors, it's damned hard to get out of the house....

"In Trouble"

JANE HARRIMAN

There was a cold heaviness reeling inside me. If it was an illness, it would be fatal because it was stronger and more powerful than I could ever be. When sleep was less urgent, I would face it. Two weeks later, it was worse. I could no longer eat. The floor was bubbling, sometimes buckling dangerously. And I was scared, terribly scared, until one morning I dreamt a formless sort of warmth, a love without fear or sadness. When I awoke, I was reassured enough to go to a doctor. On the way to his office I prepared a list of symptoms. However, when I began to speak to him and stared at the desktop photograph of his pig-tailed daughters, I diagnosed what I was only simultaneously ready to face: "I'm pregnant."

He questioned and considered: "Nonsense. Highly unlikely." He prodded and peered: "Possible." He tested: "Yes, about nine weeks. Where's the father? No chance of marriage? What are you going to do?"

"Have a baby. Become a mother, I suppose."

"You should think about abortion, adoption. There are alternatives."

But actually, there were no alternatives for me. After years of thinking that I believed in abortion, I was mortally afraid when it was more than a word to me. I felt that what was inside me was not an embryo or a fetus but the essence of life itself. The spark of human existence was demanding that my body clothe it in tissue that it might be born. If I fought that spark, or allowed anyone to put it out, I would be destroyed in a most complete and terrifying way.

So I was going to become an unwed mother. But surely not in the traditional sense of the young, helpless girl cast

away in the blizzard, "in trouble." I was twenty-seven years old, and had worked for a metropolitan newspaper for six years. Although my father was dead and there was no money in the immediate family, I was earning $10,000 a year and was dependent on no one. Of course, it would be embarrassing, and it would perhaps be emotionally difficult, but I was too well schooled in the Christian ethic—all worthwhile things are difficult, you must stand up to life's challenges—to let that faze me.

Gradually, I became more and more excited about the idea of having a baby. As I thought about it I realized it was the one thing I'd always wanted. My reservations had been about marriage. And unless I came to view marriage with less fear, my child would have only one parent. This was a handicap, but a fairly common one. I had always had lots of men in my life, and there was no reason to expect this to change. The child would have male role models.

The child would be illegitimate (the father was neither available, nor on the evidence, likely to be), but what did that mean? It meant the parents had done something illegal, not the child. I would say to it: "Most women are married when they have a baby, most, but not all. I was not married when I had you. And I had to decide whether to give you away to a married couple or to keep you myself. Some people thought it would be better for you if I gave you away so you could have a mother and a father. But I just loved you too much. I wanted you to live with me, your real mother, and I hoped we would have a good life together until you grew up."

At the end of my fourth month, the only people who knew I was pregnant were the baby's father, my physician, my obstetrician, my sister, and a psychiatrist I had consulted to make sure I was doing the right thing. Soon I would look pregnant, and so when opportunities arose, I would begin to tell people. I was confident and optimistic. And naive. I had no idea of how vulnerable I had made myself by following the course I had to.

A great many people assumed that I hoped they would refer me to an abortionist. "But I'm four months priegnant!" "OK. Good-bye." An hour later the telephone would ring and yet another name and modus operandi would be presented: a doctor in San Juan; a chiropractor in New Jer-

sey; a med school dropout who made house calls in Cambridge.

I began to think of going aWay to a place where I could gestate in peace, a place where there would be no negative vibrations toward the baby, where I would be free to work things out inside myself without embarrassing or endangering anyone. If I could get a leave of absence from my job, I would go to England on my vacation and stay on for a while. When I came back with a giant belly or a baby, no one could nag me about abortion.

I asked one of the executives if I could have a leave of absence, saying I wanted to do some free-lance work from England and I would need the money. I wanted very much to come back to work in four or five months. He thought this was possible, although they'd regret losing me for that long a time. Yes, of course. What was I planning to do?

"Have a baby, actually."

This, he said, changed the picture somewhat. He would have to talk it over with one of the other executives.

That night he telephoned me at home. I was not going to get married? Would I consider having an abortion?—a friend of theirs had gone to Sweden. Would I consider giving the baby up for adoption? No? In that case, he was sorry but I was fired. I could have my vacation pay, and I could probably collect unemployment insurance. I offered to announce a phony marriage to a Vietnam serviceman. No. I was still fired.

Unfortunately, there was no newspaper guild to which I could appeal. White-collar employees were covered by an employees' association whose principal function was to sponsor annual picnics and bowling leagues. The contract it had agreed to allowed employees to be fired without cause and specified that severance pay did not have to be given in the case of "gross personal misconduct" (that was me). Apparently, I had been too quick to laugh when people had said, "You won't be able to support a baby without a husband."

When I hired a lawyer, the newspaper agreed to let me resign and to give me about as much severance pay as I would have received from several months of unemployment compensation. It also arranged a partial compensation for the medical expenses I found would not be covered by my health insurance plan. (I'd have been protected if injured

robbing a bank, or driving while drunk, but unwed mothers, manifestly, fall into a forbidden category.)

The State Division of Employment Security suggested that I try temporary office work until my seventh month, when, as I recall, I could no longer work legally. With my two-fingered typing, I was unlikely to realize a financial windfall through that, so I set about relearning to type. But it was ridiculous. I could not possibly earn enough money to stay in my apartment, or even pay for another one in the Boston area. Life in England was less costly. I would certainly earn enough money there to support myself. My severance pay would cover the time between delivery and reemployment.

Before I risked the cost of a round-trip ticket to England, however, I thought I should protect myself against unforeseen disaster. My only male relative was an uncle to whom I had felt very close before he had retired to live in the Caribbean. When he flew into town for a week, I told him about my pregnancy and asked if he would, in the case of an emergency, be willing to lend me some money. He was amazingly supportive. He was proud of the way I was handling a difficult situation. Of course he'd help. He was a man of considerable means. He wanted to write me a check then and there.

"No, thank you," I said, "I'm taking on a responsibility, and I think I should prove myself capable of it."

The next day he had changed his mind. He'd talked it over with his wife and the best course for me was to have a Caesarean abortion. Their old friend, a Boston gynecologist, had agreed, patient unseen, to perform it.

I refused.

"Well, I think you're making a mistake, but that doesn't change anything. I'll still help you in any way you want," he said.

The day I was to leave the country, he telephoned long distance. I hadn't been to see his friend, the gynecologist.

"You won't take the mature and reasonable course. I am afraid I have nothing more to say to you, and you can forget about asking me for help, ever."

"Tell her you won't support the baby, either," his wife urged in the background.

I hung up, and my mind snapped off. I was tired down to my bone marrow. The new tenants and their furniture

would fill my empty apartment at any minute. I was going thousands of miles away to a strange land, where I knew two people. But I was leaving nothing, as it had turned out. I pressed my hands into the dusty linoleum of the floor until I was very quiet, and then I called the baby's father.

"You're being very weak, chickening out," he said. "I think going is the best thing for you. I'll write to you; I've already arranged to send you money."

I believed him. For the first time in two years, I trusted him completely. He was good and strong and he'd never abandon me. I felt quite happy as I dragged my suitcase down the subway steps toward the airport.

Eight months later he stood up in a crowded courtroom, glanced nervously in my direction, and pleaded "not guilty" in my paternity suit.

I came back six weeks before the baby was due. London had been humane but grim. Earning five shillings an hour as a typist, I had just enough money to cover my living expenses. There would be a few weeks following the baby's birth when I could not go out to work every day, and it seemed best to find a way to live for free then.

My sister had a one-room apartment, and I shared her single bed while I looked for a situation where I could earn my room and board. No employment agency could help, and the Massachusetts Bay United Fund referred me to the Florence Crittenton League's shelter for "girls in trouble."

The Crittenton assured me that it encouraged girls to make their own decisions about what they would do with their babies. But that decision is almost always to give them up for adoption. In fact, girls who are fairly sure they will keep their babies are discouraged from entering the home. They are judged to be too emotionally disturbed, or too much of a threat to the smooth group processes.

A social worker spent several hours telling me why I could not keep my baby. I would never find a baby-sitter. I was being selfish: I wanted the baby to make up for my lonely, empty life (no husband). If I had normal, healthy maternal feelings, I would come to want what was best for the baby—adoption. She then got down to practicalities:

the Crittenton rate was $100 a week (as I recall), plus $500 for the delivery. No matter what I claimed, the health insurance policy would not cover the medical expenses, she said, and she would have to have the $500 in advance. She figured, I guess, that the type of client she attracted might flee while the sheets were still warm.

A stay in the Crittenton would not leave me penniless; it would leave me in debt, and out of work, with an infant to support.

"Well," she said, "you may decide that the responsible thing to do is to give up your baby. It takes some courage, but most of our girls find it."

When I decided not to enter the Crittenton, its social worker referred me to a nurse who would give me room and board in exchange for helping her get dressed and bathed. She had a broken leg.

In addition to helping her, the invalid explained, I would be expected to keep the seven-room house clean, attend to her husband's laundry, and prepare three meals a day. I didn't have to wear a maid's uniform, a plain, dark dress and apron would be enough, and I would please wear a hairnet (over my Joan of Arc hairdo). She understood, she told me, that girls like me weren't bad, they had made a bad mistake. And usually, she found, it didn't show in the children. Her son and his wife had been forced to adopt "two of them," infant girls, and honestly, to look at them today you'd never suspect there was anything wrong or unusual about them.

I next visited a university professor who was looking for a cook-typist. Just supper, and four or five hours of typing a day. A nice room for me, with a desk and books. I was leaving to get my suitcase, when he grabbed me: "Why not? You are already pregnant."

I finally found much more acceptable arrangements, which were generous enough to leave my days pretty much free. A minister also got me a typing job in an office in Boston, and I worked until the day the baby was born.

But I was not yet through with the Crittenton social worker. She gave me the name of a community service organization in Cambridge which would make day-care arrangements for me. The social worker there sang the old adoption song. A slightly new ending was that she'd take care of everything to do with the adoption for only $125.

When she was apparently convinced that I was going to keep my baby, she discussed my psychological responsibilities. It would be very harmful to the baby to go home from the hospital with me and stay with me for several weeks before beginning a day-care routine. Trust would be established and then broken at the tender age of one month. It would be much better for me not to see the baby until I was completely settled in a new job, and could send for it, if I still wanted to. (Apparently the trust which would be established between the "wonderfully warm" foster-home mother and my baby could be broken with no ill effects, or with less harm than would be caused by the disruption of my full-time presence.)

For an hour or so I answered questions about my family, life, and health record. When I could not tell her a great deal about the baby's paternal grandparents, she asked to interview the father. I really thought that was unnecessary. It seems amazing that I did not wonder why such detailed information was necessary to find good day care. But I did not. I suppose I still believed that helping agencies were in business only to help those in need.

A week later she telephoned me to say she was sorry, but she'd "forgotten"—her agency had not been making any day-care arrangements for years; in fact, it was philosophically opposed to the idea. She didn't want to leave me in the lurch, though. She had found an excellent adoptive home, if I'd reconsider. I hung up, and fortunately my fury and panic were soon interrupted by the sudden onset of labor.

My baby was born at the Boston Lying-In. I watched in overhead mirrors as the intern (who had told me I was too whimsical to be a mother) guided a tiny head, bleating like a lamb, into the world. It was healthy. It was a boy. It was really all right. It squinted its dark eyes and glared at me. What was it? Where had it come from? That wasn't the thing that had been tapping out messages inside me for so long. Where was my baby? I hoped I didn't have to hold that thing, I was too tired.

About 72 hours later, a nurse woke me up, as usual, at one in the morning. She had the shrieking, thrashing, furious red lizard in her arms. "He's really hungry this morning," she said.

I took hold of it, and it sunk its gums ravenously into

my breast. I screamed, and then burst into tears of joy. He was a separate human being, strong, savage, completely untamed. He was ruthlessly taking what he had to have to survive. He was unafraid and unawed by me or anyone. Oh, little baby, how glad I am to meet you.

In the fall, I accepted a writing job at a research and consulting firm which prides itself on its liberalism. I made no mention of marital status or child when I applied for work, and when the company discovered, after several months, that I had a child, the question seemed academic.

While the unwed mother has to assume almost complete responsibility for her child, society does not really consider her a responsible adult. To give an example, in order to get life insurance, I was told by the salesman that I had to lie and call myself "divorced." Also, the first diaper service I called asked my husband's name, and then, after I said "unmarried," would not accept me as a customer. When I called a second service, I said, with a catch in my voice, "Wid-dowed." The diapers were delivered that day.

Contrary to the social workers' predictions, I had no trouble whatsoever finding a marvelous, intelligent, affectionate baby-sitter who genuinely loves and respects children. She is part of a large, closely knit, happy family. David spends his days in her house with grandparents, parents, aunts, uncles, brothers, and sisters. He gets sunshine and fresh air and home-grown fruits and vegetables. He also has a natural mother who is very happy to be with him every morning and evening.

This day-care situation is expensive, however. It costs a quarter of my income, and I am always .just making ends meet. I cannot remember the last time I bought red meat or owned more than one pair of shoes.

When I first began to look for child care, I called the state and was transferred from one agency to another. Finally a man in the Welfare Department explained to me that there was no day care available in Massachusetts for children under two. In fact, until very recently, it had beeit illegal. The General Court had finally seen its way to legalizing it, and calling for the establishment of licensing procedures. In its wisdom, however, the legislature had consistently failed to appropriate even the minimal funds required to inspect privately financed centers. In this situa-

tion, it was illegal for a woman to take in a baby for the day without having a license, and a license was unobtainable. He suggested that I come on the welfare rolls.

I had hoped that when I went back to work as a writer, when summer was over and David was settled down, my social life would improve. It grew worse. There is not much room in society for a single woman, particularly one with a child.

Before, I had had lots of friends, but they were men. A few men seemed willing to accept me, but I did not want them. I had a full-time job, a small household to run, and a baby to care for. David and I continually traded respiratory infections. I was simply too tired to play games with men, to sit, drink in hand, eyelashes fluttering, listening, far into the night. I needed friendship and exchange, not an additional demand. I had, in conventional terms, nothing to give a man.

I absorbed everyone's feelings and reactions toward unmarried mothers. At best, these feelings were ones of curiosity and timid identification: "What was it like, all alone? Dreadful? You know my husband never really shared ..

The more liberal and the more compassionate reacted, after reflection, "You're so brave." Such comments did not in any way boost my spirits; rather they affirmed the existence of the opposition and condemnation I already felt. I didn't want to be brave. I simply wanted to be—without comment or judgment.

When I began to suffer crying fits of unknown origin, I sought professional help. Because I could not afford psychotherapy, I went to a Family Service agency. I was referred to a social worker who specialized in unmarried mothers. Her orientation was strongly toward adoption (I couldn't believe it—my baby was more than a year old!) Yes, she did counsel a few women who kept their babies. I asked if her agency would sponsor a group of unmarried mothers in therapy or at least regular discussions. I felt we could lend one another support and begin to work out solutions to mutual problems. She discussed the idea with her supervisors: no, the agency did not think it was a good idea.

But I did. I wrote an advertisement: "UNWED MOTHERS. Same wants to meet you. Object, mutual

support and aid." None of the ab>oveground newspapers would carry it.

Parents Without Partners mailed me material which asked if the recipient were divorced, widowed, or separated. I telephoned and asked if unmarried parents were eligible. "I wouldn't think so, would you?" a woman said. I didn't pursue the question any further because the organization was so blatantly dedicated to remarriage. (Its pamphlet was decorated with a waltzing couple. Several dozen events were listed for the month, only one of which was of a nonsocial nature—a lecture on "Your Teenager," or something along that line. The first meeting I could have attended was a "happy hour" in the cocktail lounge of Sammy White's Brighton Bowl.) I note, with interest, that PWP's current literature welcomes as members parents who have "never married."

My needs—to talk about my experiences with someone who would listen, to regain a sense of self-respect and a sense of my worthiness as a human being, to feel myself an accepted member of some segment of society—would not be met by any kind of mating game with which I was familiar.

A friend gave me some literature on women's liberation. I read a few paragraphs and tossed it aside: "Lesbian anarchists." Several hours later, I fished it out of the trash. The language was extreme, but the message was true and not entirely new to me.

(I had read The Golden Notebook and The Second Sex and A Room of One's Own. I had searched for five years to find a psychiatrist who would not urge me to get married at the end of the initial interview, but would yell at me, "You're a woman, sure, but goddamnit, you're a human being. Why don't you act like one?")

I went to a women's liberation meeting. It was run along the lines of Alcoholics Anonymous—everyone told something about her own life. After I spoke, a woman next to me murmured, "You kept the baby! Good for you." But that was the only reaction I perceived.

I joined a group of a dozen women, and for almost a year we have met once a week to discuss our lives, past and present, and our future role as women in the world, as well as in the home. None of us hates men, none of us

wants to live a life without men. We feel that we have been oppressed by society and by our own attitudes. We recognize that men are often as oppressed as women, if not more so. And children are the most oppressed of all. In a technological society, there is no need for strongly defined sexual roles—in fact to say that a man must be aggressive and competitive, and a woman must stay at home and cook frozen foods, is more than arbitrary, it is barbarous.

I hope that someday I will meet a man who is sure enough of his own identity and his own sex to love me as an equal human being, and participate in all facets of the life we build within the community. I hope to find a man who feels, as I do, that children are not extensions of your body and soul, but individual human beings lent you for a few years to cherish and enjoy, while you are guiding them toward an early liberation.

r I think of David and the delight people take in him: "I've never seen such a happy child, so loving and out-going. I can't get over it; he has some strange power."

I look at him, and of course he wears a halo because he and I have shared much laughter and love and anger and tears.

But why does he look special to other people? Do they expect a "bastard" to be ugly and miserable? Perhaps. I like to think, however, that they unconsciously expect something unusual of a child born in ancient symbolism, outside of wedlock, a happy, healthy child, conceived and carried and born in independence and freedom from the constraints of society. A child whose existence and whose nature have today—as at all times—the power to begin to change the world once more.

Marriage and Love[1]

EMMA GOLDMAN

The popular notion about marriage and love is that they are synonymous, that they spring from the same motives, and cover the same human needs. Like most popular notions this also rests not on actual facts, but on superstition.

Marriage and love have nothing in common; they are as far apart as the poles; are, in fact, antagonistic to each other. No doubt some marriages have been the result of lbve. Not, however, because love could assert itself only in marriage; much rather is it because few people can completely outgrow a convention. There are today large numbers of men and women to whom marriage is naught but a farce, but who submit to it for the sake of public opinion. At any rate, while it is true that some marriages are based on love, and while it is equally true that in some cases love continues in married life, I maintain that it does so regardless of marriage, and not because of it.

On the other hand, it is utterly false that love results from marriage. On rare occasions one does hear of a miraculous case of a married couple falling in love after marriage, but on close examination it will be found that it is a mere adjustment to the inevitable. Certainly the growing-used to each other is far away from the spontaneity, the intensity, and beauty of love, without which the intimacy of marriage must prove degrading to both the woman and the man.

Marriage is primarily an economic arrangement, an insurance pact. It differs from the ordinary life-insurance agreement only in that it is more binding, more exacting. Its returns are insignificantly small compared with the investments. In taking out an insurance policy one pays

1 Originally published in 1917.

for it in dollars and cents, always at liberty to discontinue payments. If, however, women's premium is a husband, she pays for it with her name, her privacy, her self-respect, her very life, "until death doth part." Moreover, the marriage insurance condemns her to lifelong dependency, to parasitism, to complete uselessness, individual as well as social. Man, too, pays his toll, but as his sphere is wider, marriage does not limit him as much as woman. He feels his chains more in an economic sense.

Thus Dante's motto over Inferno applies with equal force to marriage: "Ye who enter here leave all hope behind."

That marriage is a failure none but the very stupid will deny. One has but to glance over the statistics of divorce to realize how bitter a failure marriage really is.

But the child, how is it to be protected, if not for marriage? After all, is not that the most important consideration? The sham, the hypocrisy of it! Marriage protecting the child, yet thousands of children destitute and homeless. Marriage protecting the child, yet orphan asylums and reformatories overcrowded, the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children keeping busy in rescuing the little victims from "loving" parents, to place them under more loving care, the Gerry Society. Oh, the mockery of it!

Marriage may have the power to "bring the horse to water," but has it ever made him drink? The law will place the father under arrest, and put him in convict's clothes; but has that ever stilled the hunger of the child? If the parent has no work, or if he hides his identity, what does marriage do then? It invokes the law to bring the man to "justice," to put him safely behind closed doors; his labor, however, goes not to the child, *but to the state. The child receives but a blighted memory of its father's stripes.

As to the protection of the woman—therein lies the curse of marriage. Not that it really protects her, but the very idea is so revolting, such an outrage and insult on life, so degrading to human dignity, as to forever condemn this parasitic institution.

It is like that other paternal arrangement—capitalism. It robs man of his birthright, stunts his growth, poisons his

body, keeps him in ignorance, in poverty and dependence, and then institutes charities that thrive on the last vestige of man's self-respect.

The institution of marriage makes a parasite of woman, an absolute dependent. It incapacitates her for life's struggle, annihilates her social consciousness, paralyzes her imagination, and then imposes its gracious protection, which is in reality a snare, a travesty on human character.

If motherhood is the highest fulfillment of woman's nature, what other protection does it need save love and freedom? Marriage but defiles, outrages, and corrupts her fulfillment. Does it not say to woman, Only when you follow me shall you bring forth life? Does it not condemn her to the block, does it not degrade and shame her if she refuses to buy her right to motherhood by selling herself? Does not marriage only sanction motherhood, even though conceived in hatred, in compulsion? Yet, if motherhood be of free choice, of love, of ecstasy, of defiant passion, does it not place a crown of thorns upon an innocent head and carve in letters of blood the hideous epithet, "Bastard"? Were marriage to contain all the virtues claimed for it, its crimes against motherhood would exclude it forever from the realm of love.

Love, the strongest and deepest element in all life, the harbinger of hope, of joy, of ecstasy; love, the defier of all laws, of all conventions; love, the freest, the most powerful molder of human destiny; how can such an all-compelling force be synonymous with that poor little state and Church-begotten weed, marriage?

Free love? As if love is anything but free! Man has bought brains, but all the millions in the world have failed to buy love. Man has subdued bodies, but all the power on earth has been unable to subdue love. Man has conquered whole nations, but all his armies could not conquer love. Man has chained and fettered the spirit, but he has been utterly helpless before love. High on a throne, with all the splendor and pomp his gold can command, man is yet poor and desolate, if love passes him by. And if it stays, the poorest hovel is radiant with warmth, with life and color. Thus love has the magic power to make of a beggar a king. Yes, love is free; it can dwell in no other atmosphere. In freedom it gives itself unreservedly, abundantly, completely. All the laws on the statutes, all the courts in the universe,

cannot tear it from the soil, once love has taken root. If, however, the soil is sterile, how can marriage make it bear fruit? It is like the last desperate struggle of fleeting life against death.

Love needs no protection; it is its own protection. So long as love begets life no child is deserted, or hungry, or famished for the want of affection. I know this to be true. I know women who became mothers in freedom by the men they loved. Few children in wedlock enjoy the care, the protection, the devotion free motherhood is capable of bestowing.

The defenders of authority dread the advent of a free motherhood, lest it will rob them of their prey. Who would fight wars? Who would create wealth? Who would make the policeman, the jailer, if woman were to refuse the indiscriminate breeding of children? "The race, the race!" shouts the king, the president, the capitalist, the priest. The race must be preserved, though woman be degraded to a mere machine—and the marriage institution is our only safety valve against the pernicious sex-awakening of women. But in vain these frantic efforts to maintain a state of bondage. In vain, too, the edicts of the Church, the mad attacks of rulers, in vain even the arm of the law. Woman no longer wants to be a party to the production of a race of sickly, feeble, decrepit, wretched human beings, who have neither the strength nor moral courage to throw off the yoke of poverty and slavery. Instead she desires fewer and better children, begotten and reared in love and through free choice; not by compulsion, as marriage imposes. Our pseudo moralists have yet to learn the deep sense of responsibility toward the child that love in freedom has awakened in the breast of woman. Rather would she forego forever the glory of motherhood than bring forth life in an atmosphere that breathes only destruction and death. And if she does become a mother, it is to give to the child the deepest and best her being can yield. To grow with the child is her motto; she knows that in that manner alone she Can help build true manhood and womanhood.

Ibsen must have had a vision of a free mother, when, with a master stroke, he portrayed Mrs. Alving. She was the ideal mother because she had outgrown marriage and all its horrors, because she had broken her chains, and set her

spirit free to soar until it returned a personality, regenerated and strong. Alas, it was too late to rescue her life's joy, her Oswald; but not too late to realize that love in freedom is the only condition of a beautiful life. Those who, like Mrs. Alving, have paid with blood and tears for their spiritual awakening, repudiate marriage as an imposition, a shallow, empty mockery. They know, whether love lasts but one brief span of time or for eternity, it is the only creative, inspiring, elevating basis for a new race, a new world.

In our present pygmy state, love is indeed a stranger to most people. Misunderstood and shunned, it rarely takes root; or if it does, it soon withers and dies. Its delicate fiber cannot endure the stress and strain of the daily grind. Its soul is too complex to adjust itself to the slimy woof of our social fabric. It weeps and moans and suffers with those who have need of it, yet lack the capacity to rise to love's summit.

Some day, some day men and women will rise, they will reach the mountain peak, they will meet big and strong and free, ready to receive, to partake, and to bask in the golden rays of love. What fancy, what imagination, what poetic genius can foresee even approximately the potentialities of such a force in the life of men and women. If the world is ever to give birth to true companionship and oneness, not marriage, but love will be the parent

IV. Caste, Class and Race

In the early stages of the women's liberation movement there was essential agreement on "the politics of personal experience." Essentially what this meant was that there was an assumption of unity among all women, since all our daily lives were affected by having been born female. The theory theit* was that all women represented a separate sexual caste or class. Later, it was recognized that class differences exist, and, in each class women represented a lower caste.

It happens quite often in the movement as it is now constituted—predominantly by white middle-class women—that women demanding entrance to an all-male bar will take no notice of the women cleaning up on the periphery, or changing the linens in the hotel upstairs. The liberationist off to attend a rally might have had her hair set in the morning, and not even recognized the beautician as a "real" person, let alone as a sister.

Up until recently—when some major changes in the political direction have begun to be made—the women's liberation movement has focused largely on fulfilling the needs of middle-class women, women who have already been educated and groomed to expect certain privileges within this society. While fighting for higher job status in the professions (mainly members of NOW), few have been concerned with the plight of working-class women, black and white, who have no choice whatsoever about the kind of work they must do to survive. Radical women, also predominantly from the middle class, have not yet overcome class bias and the movement has not yet

made itself relevant to a large segment of the female population, particularly to those whose work at home and on the job is most exploited. Eliminating class division must be a major part of our political overview and not, as has been true in the past, part of our political oversight. If we do not deal with those differences which set up the hierarchical pecking order we live in, we will end up once again with just token change for an elite few.

Storybook Lives: Growing Up Middle Class

ELLEN MASLOW

Since my parents were well informed about birth control, I was a planned and wanted baby. That meant I got a lot of attention, good food, and love. My parents valued education, and encouraged my verbal beginnings. I could talk and read very well by the time I was three years old. I was already sure that I was a bright, lovable, and successful child. When I was in the second or third grade, I remember the principal of the school coming into my classro6m on report-card day announcing I was the best student in the class. She called me up to the front of the room, and I remember, in my innocence, feeling everyone there must love me, because I was fulfilling my birthright, to be bright, lovable, and successful.

Somehow, as a child, I learned to feel innately superior to people with less education and "taste" . . . children of the working class and most of the middle class as well. I really felt there was no one better or more valuable than I was. Spelling Bees were pure joy because I would always do very well on them and, therefore, feel superior. It never occurred to me, at that age, that I knew more words because my home was full of books which I was encouraged to read, and emotionally rewarded for enjoying.

In the course of growing up, I developed the attitude that the best which could be expected from people without formal education was a sort of earthy wisdom, or cheerful disposition. They were "childlike," "vulgar," "not making anything of their lives," etc. I can see in retrospect that although the prejudice was in terms of class rather than race, the stereotypes were easily transferable.

By the time I was in my teens, I resented being groomed for the elite. It made me feel isolated and phony. It

shocked me that a student whom I knew and liked from high school, who was black, turned up at my back door one day to collect our garbage.

~ The middle-class rationalization for having economic privileges is that we deserve those privileges. "We worked our way up, so why can't they?" "They wouldn't know how to manage money, even if they had it." Class differences aren't easy to admit, so they're seen as caste differences, in terms of inherent superiority rather than economic privilege. This is encouraged by the myth that the United States is a free country with no class system.

Indeed, I was a special girl who would become a special student who would become a special woman who would marry a special man and have several special children. This was my destiny. Life was going to be comfortable and rewarding. All those ants on the anthill could continue to fight for their miserable rewards. That's just the way it was.

It was assumed that I would go to one of the best colleges and excel in whatever field I chose. I was not destined to be one of those ants on the anthill. I w^a a member of the intelligentsia who did the thinking ror humanity, who led, who accomplished, who theorized, who transcended mere survival. It was a rude shock to realize as I was growing up, getting to know all sorts of people, that my "special" intelligence was a myth. Most people are intelligent, in one way or another.

- It's not surprising that so many white middle-class young people became enthralled with "helping" black people, and kept as far away as possible from poor whites. It would have been more difficult with poor whites to retain that sense of superiority. Blacks are sufficiently different in color and culture: they don't threaten our sense of mission. At least, not at the beginning.

I was confronted over and over again with my class and race prejudices during the years I worked in the civil rights movement. I quite unconsciously assumed I knew how to do things right. I felt anxiety when people from Mississippi wanted to do something their own way. I thought I was concerned about their inevitably failing, since they weren't doing it my way. In retrospect, I believe I was really worried about losing my elite position, about what would become of me if my "specialness" turned out to be an illusion. Of Course it was an illusion, a very self-flattering

illusion, but it took me years to realize it, and to develop a true respect for black people.

While I was in my twenties, I spent hundreds of hours discussing unhappiness with my girlfriends. We were college graduates, set enough in life to be either pursuing our careers or dropping out. All of us had been married at an early age, chosen not to have children right away, and then had divorced.

We anguished over our disappointing marriages. We wondered why, since we could be so frank with one another, our relationships with men were so stilted and unsatisfying. We shared our fears that we were latent homosexuals. We did not feel complete without men, but we didn't feel complete with them either. It gradually became necessary to become human beings. For this we were not prepared.

In the face of this acute problem, we behaved in a manner characteristic of our class and background. We talked. We kept talking. We theorized. It was clear that our problems with men were not simply personal problems: observation told us we were not misfits in an otherwise smiling and bouncy Pepsi Generation. Everyone we knew from our kind of background engaged in similar commiserations.

Where was the personal richness and freedom we had been led to expect? Why didn't the world take notice of us? Where were the trumpets joyously welcoming us to womanhood?

Our material comfort turned out not to be worth its weight in gold. It did not free us to pursue loftier aims. Material comfort, although it had bought us good teeth and a summer in Mexico, had also given us too many fantasies to fight our way out of. And we weren't prepared to fight because we didn't know how, because fighting wasn't written into the script of our storybook lives.

So, there I was, with a kitchen full of food, a roof over my head, my B.A. in the attic, ready for whatever life-beyond-the-anthill had to offer. And I found that America had no work for me to do. No work which was socially acceptable, paid well, and which felt honest. Since I couldn't join it, I decided to fight it!

I was supposed to want to go into the Peace Corps, to be a bright-eyed, idealistic child of the suburbs, telling the

poor of the world that our President wasn't as ugly as he looked. I was supposed to witlessly help dig a well in some impoverished village, knowing full well that the poverty of that entire country had somehow, indirectly, paid my way through college.

Only a Barbie Doll could believe in the American Dream, the Doris Day grin, the Happy Ending. If I went to the movies as a girl to cry and eventually triumph with Susan Hayward, I would later be confronted with the reality of poverty and starvation, not my own, of course, but of people I had grown to know and respect in Mississippi and elsewhere. In one part of my brain was Hollywood romanticism, unreal expectations planted like an electrode to control the course of my life, to blind me to the realities of people whose existence was a struggle to survive.

America was not a democracy, not everyone had the comforts we had. Some people who wanted to go to those colleges my friends and I now scorned, weren't allowed in, and were trapped in the economic class of their birth. We became aware of the dangers of atomic testing, of capitalism's need for wider markets, and its brutal methods for obtaining those markets. Then we learned that Chaney's death in Mississippi would have gone unnoticed, like so many other deaths we were ignorant of, had not two white middle-class boys been killed with him.

Our adult lives began, born out of these fragments of stolen consciousness. The basic awareness grew that truth, whatever it was, was something we had all our lives been protected from. Reality had been kept in quarantine so we could not become contaminated.

It was neither superficial nor accidental that our early discontent centered around men and marriage. Our childhood had led us to expect a way of life which no longer existed (if indeed it ever had), a life centered around a loving husband and family, held together by shared assumptions and expectations, a happy combination of security and mobility. Not to mention central heating, guitars and dancing lessons. This middle-class dream, we had to admit, was still deeply a part of us, fertilized by constant pressure from our parents ("Soon you'll be too old to have children," "When will you grow up?"). The voices from within ourselves and from our families added up to a very great fear that we had already failed in some

huge way, and that the rest of our lives would either be reprieve at some mysterious future point, or total disaster. Maybe, we thought, our generation was born in a peculiarly tragic moment in history. In any case, we knew it couldn't all be our own fault.

Deep down, though, we really did fear it was our own fault. Who or what else could be blamed? We all went into therapy, afraid but determined to find out what was wrong with us.

We spent years and thousands of dollars trying to figure out why our actual experiences didn't fit with what our parents and Susan Hayward had been telling us, why stouthearted young men didn't come courting, shyly or surely in love, determined to cherish and protect us. Generally, as we discovered, they wanted sex with no human involvement, freedom for themselves but not for us. Wow, we thought, this ain't like Mama said it was gonna be. No one in those romantic movies ever had to go to the VD clinic or get an abortion. Goddamn!

By the time I was twenty years old, I was too alienated to have much choice. I knew I could not carve my personal happiness out of a rotting strawberry shortcake. I have been trying ever since to figure out what to do with my life. I didn't want to be the woman behind either a husband or Uncle Sam. I, like so many others, broke with tradition and found myself in a frightening and uncharted No-Woman's-Land.

I began to realize that everyone would continue to suffer as long as the class system was allowed to perpetuate itself. No one gains from the class system but a very few at the very top. Those of us born into economic comfort have to become aware of the privileges we have grown up with, and the ways we have developed of seeing and dealing with reality. We have the feeling that our way is the "normal" way, while the truth is our lives have not been typical of anything except of the American white middle class. The point is not to become guilty-feeling, but to become conscious of our class origins and attitudes. Buried in the middle-class consciousness is racism, classism, and sexism. We have to change.

It is tempting for people with formal education, or other tools for "making it," to go ahead and try to find personal solutions, to make more money, to become well known and

influential. This is encouraged by the American value placed upon so-called rugged individualism, which is just another way of saying, "Get all you can get for yourself, and the hell with everyone else." We have to see the ways we need each other, the ways we offend and disgust each other, the ways we envy and mythologize each other, the ways we like and admire each other.

A group of women from different class backgrounds got together one evening to talk about how the women's liberation movement is dominated by middle-class women, and how this is resented by women from poorer backgrounds. It emerged clearly that people born into the white working class still felt they could ask for nothing because they were sure they would be given nothing in a hostile and judging world. They found it difficult or impossible, for instance, to ask for help, for a loan, for advice. Unemployment and hunger was a shadow, always, in their lives. The middle-class members of the group, on the other hand, all felt essentially secure. We knew we could survive comfortably, come what may. We could afford to take more risks, because we knew, literally, there would always be someone there to bail us out. Violence had played no role in our lives, we had been protected from it.

Our future must be built upon reality. And the only reality I know is struggle . . . struggle against the myth that a woman's place is to help a man fulfill his and not her own dreams, struggle against the myth that this is a land of equal opportunity. As we struggle for our own liberation, as women and as people, we must realize that we are joining people throughout the world who are fighting for their liberation, and we must remember that life is, for most people, a very grim reality.

To My White Working-Class Sisters

DEBBY D'AMICO

We are the invisible women, the faceless women, the nameless women . . . the female half of the silent majority, the female half of the ugly Americans, the smallest part of the "little people." No one photographs us, no one writes about us, no one puts us on TV. No one says we are beautiful, no one says we are important, very few like to recognize that we are here. We are the poor and working-class white women of America, and we are cruelly and systematically ignored. All of our lives we have been told, sometimes subtly, sometimes not so subtly, that we are not worth very much. This message has been put across to me, a white working-class woman, all my life. I think the time has come to speak out against these insults, and so I have decided to write about parts of my life and my ideas. I am doing this for all my sisters who have been made to feel that they are not worth writing about, and for all those people who have to be convinced of poor white existence,, those same people who told us that because we are all white our lives are the same as those of the middle and upper class.

When I was in the second grade, we were given a sample aptitude test to accustom us to the test-taking rut that would ultimately determine whether we would be programmed toward college or a dead-end job. After we had answered several multiple-choice questions, the teacher had us check our answers against the "right" ones. One of the questions pictured a man in a tuxedo, a man in a suit, and a man in overalls. The question read: "Which man is going to work?" The "correct" answer was: the man in the suit. I can still feel the shame that came with the realization that what went on in my home was marked "incorrect." I

responded the way oppressed people often respond—by secretly hating myself and my family. I remember constantly begging my father to put on a suit—my father who worked an average of 65 to 80 hours a week driving trucks, checking out groceries in a supermarket, and doing any of the other deadening jobs which came his way. My mother didn't escape my judgments either. The unreal Dick, Jane, and Sally world our school books presented as the "right" way of life, reinforced by TV and middle-class schoolmates' homes, made me viciously attack her grammar whenever she spoke and ask her questions like: "How come you never wear dresses or get your hair done?" The world of my home gave me concrete answers: at the time my mother had three kids in diapers and another on the way, hardly a life-style that called for a well-dressed mannequin. But the middle-class world of America was bigger than my home and I was overcome by its judgments.

As I went on through school, I continued to be taught about an America that had little to do with me. The picture of American life drawn in history books was almost always a comfortable one, with exceptions like wars and the Depression (hardships which the middle class participated in and thus wanted to talk about). Working-class sisters, wake up! Black people were not the only ones left out of history books. George Washington is no relative of yours; neither is Henry Ford, or Nixon and Agnew. While George Washington was relaxing at his Mt. Vernon estate, your ancestors may have been among the two-thirds majority of white settlers who served as indentured servants for Master George and others like him. They may have been servants who were kidnapped from the slums of England and Ireland and brought here in chains to be sold to the highest bidder. Your grandmother might have been one of the "huddled masses yearning to breathe free," who came to America and wound up in a tenement where free air never blew, working from can see to can't see, made to feel alien and ashamed of an Old World culture infinitely more alive and colorful than the drab, Puritan, "Mr. Clean" ways of America. I have listened to the old folks in my family talk about how they "came over," and how they survived, the first Italians in an all-Irish neighborhood. That is my history. While Mr. Pullman was amassing his fortune, our people were fighting and dying for the rights

of working men and women, our people were being shot and beaten for what they believed. I was not taught this in school but learned it later on my own. In high school I continued to learn middle-class ways. I spent years learning to talk like them, eat like them, look like them. I learned a language that had little to do with the concrete terms of my life or the lives of my family and fellow workers.

At the same time that books were deluging me with middle-class culture, I began to feel the pinch of unworthiness in other ways. I attended a parochial high school for one year which was upper-middle-class dominated. If your family had no influential friends to take out $50 ads in the yearbook, you were punished—shame on you! they said, for your failure to measure up in America, shame on you because you haven't made it in the land of the free and the home of the brave.

During my high school years I entered the great rat race of women who were dedicated to snagging any and all men considered desirable. I was again led by middle-class values, and so I rejected the knit-shirted, "greasy"-haired, dark-skinned Italians I grew up with and made a mad dash for the Brylcreem man. All the while, of course, feeling I could never get him, because I wasn't the girl in the 'Brylcreem commercial. I read all the middle-class fashion and glamour magazines and tried to look like people who were able to look that way because of a life-style that included a closet full of clothes I couldn't afford and a leisurely existence that allowed them to look cool and unruffled all the time. And there I was working in a luncheonette so shabby I never mentioned it to anyone for a lousy six dollars a Saturday that I immediately spent in vain efforts to make myself "acceptable"-looking. During the day I gossiped condescendingly about the way people dressed, playing at being the glorious magazine girl, and at night I sulked off to the phone company to be bitten by cord lice and told all night that I was either very slow or innately stupid.

And people, in social and job situations, have been saying that ever since. In social situations it is said as I sit quietly by and watch well-dressed, slick, confident women of the upper classes, America's idea of beauty, steal the eyes, applause, and the image of woman from me. It is said in many ways on the job: at my last job I was mimeo-

grapher at a school, a "liberal, progressive" school at that. I once spoke up at a staff meeting, and the first remark to follow the stunned silence was, "Why doesn't someone put her on the faculty?" Yes, put me among the educated middle class because you absolutely can't deal with a worker who thinks and has ideas. After I mentioned this, I was told that it was a compliment and that I should be grateful. Grateful that they thought I was as good as them. At the same school I was once asked, "Are you the switchboard?" Naturally—since we are looked on as extensions of the machines we operate, not as human beings.

What all this has done to us is create a deep, deep sense of unworthiness, a sense so deep it dooms us. I have a thirteen-year-old friend who is well on the way to life either in prison or on heroin. We, as a people, have nothing that says to him, "You shouldn't ruin your life. You're a good, worthwhile person." If or when he does go to jail, there will be no Black Muslims to tell him he is a worthwhile person just because of what he is. No one will be there to give him the respect and support of an alternate culture that respects what he is. That is what the judgment of middle-class America has done to us.

Why has this happened to us? It has happened because we believed in the American dream, in the dream that anyone can be anything if he only tries, works hard, and if he doesn't make it, it's only because something about him is rotten. Since we don't have much to begin with, we're made to feel we don't deserve much. And we believe it—even though the truth of our lives tells us that we have worked, and damned hard, but we still didn't have the kinds of lives we read about and saw on TV. And America has kept us out of magazines and off TV because our faces and voices are full of this truth. We have hated black people, but we have hated ourselves more. By believing black people are inferior, we have kept the truth about ourselves from each other—that the people who have the power and money in America never intend to raise our incomes or those of black people, not because we aren't worthy, but because it would cut into their profits to do so. We believed black people were so inferior that they weren't supposed to make it—we believed we were superior and could make it—but we never did and we blame ourselves. As white people who haven't made it, we are the

living proof of the American lie and we hate ourselves for it.

What can we do about all this? As poor and working-class women, we can start asking what is wrong with America and stop asking what is wrong with ourselves. In a culture where women are often judged by beauty alone, the standard of beauty does not fit us. We, as ourselves, as we go to work or wash dishes, we, in our daily lives, are never called beautiful. Black women have told themselves that they are beautiful in their natural lives, and we need to do the same for ourselves. We must begin to see ourselves as beautiful in our ability to work, to endure, in our plain, honest lives, and we must stop aspiring to a false-eyelash existence that is not and never has been for us. We are not the women in Vogue, Glamour, or As The World Turns, nor should we want to be. We are the women who have dealt all our lives with the truths and tragedies of real life, because we never had the option of the armchair-beautiful-people existence. We are the people who have no maids or therapists to dump our troubles on. We know what it is to work hard and we are not guilty of wearing silks while others wear rags. We should never admire the women in Vogue, because there is something undeniably ugly about women who wear minks while others can't afford shoes—and no amount of $20-an-ounce makeup can hide that brand of ugliness. We must start learning that other people have been victims of this middle-class culture aping the rich. Black and Puerto Rican, Mexican and Indian, Chinese and Japanese people have had their true history concealed and their faces scorned by TV and magazines. We must see that those who share the hardships we share are not the white middle and upper classes, but the black and brown people who work at our sides. As white working-class and poor people we must begin to be proud of ourselves, our histories, and each other; we must unite and support ourselves as a people. Once we respect ourselves, we will find it necessary to struggle with a society and with jobs which tell us we are worthless. In that struggle we will learn that the anger of black and brown people which we have feared for so long has the same direction as our anger, that their enemies are our enemies, and their fight our fight.

"Freedom Is Something That All of Us Need"

MABEL HOBSEN

Black ADC mother,

Welfare Rights Organization, Detroit

Several hundred welfare mothers kept their children out of school because they didn't have the proper clothes to wear. They asked for a school allowance of $75 per child. They were given $ 11 per child.

They staged sit-ins and demonstrations in their attempts to have the allotment increased, and were supported by religious, labor and civil rights groups. But Governor Milliken insisted that, although he sympathizes with their situation, the state is unable to help them.

One of the mothers, who has 12 children and has been threatened with a 90-day jail sentence and/or a $50 fine if her children do not return to school at once, tells her story:

When you're on ADC [Aid to Dependent Children], every day is an emergency situation.

There's a pressure on us all the time. They tell us we have to send our children to school. But when we send them, they send them back home. One of my daughters has been keeping up with her lessons from the girl next door. She's in the seventh grade. Their class was supposed to have a test and she knew she could pass it.

She put on some long wool pants and a heavy blouse and went to school to take t>he test. In an hour she was back home. When I called the school, they told me I could send her when she was properly dressed. I had sent her in the best she had.

All this is having a tremendous effect on my children. They feel they are going to get behind and they worry what they will say when they ever do get back to school. My fifteen- and sixteen-year-olds say they would rather get married than go back to school now. My fifteen-year-old

went to jail on her own during one of our demonstrations. I've had six of my children go to jail with me. They know what we're fighting for, but they don't feel that they belong to their own group at school anymore.

Governor Milliken knows that any money that is allocated from the state level will be matched from Washington, but the politicians complain that the state would be taking too much responsibility. The truth is that it is the responsibility of the whole society. The ones who are really getting hurt are the children. They're being passed around like hot potatoes from the state to the county and back again.

Governor Milliken said that the $11 we got for clothes this fall will be followed by another $11 in spring IF the welfare rolls stay the same. But things are getting worse every day. The welfare rolls will get bigger and bigger, not smaller. They make it impossible for us to get off welfare.

A woman in this society is in a world of turmoil. There is no such thing as a woman today. I don't feel like a woman anymore. I wish some day I could wake up and feel like a woman again. I would like to go back to those days.

But I can't because there are too many problems to overcome. You have to accept the role of being man and woman.

Raising children in a society like this is turmoil. I have 12 of them. I have to be a father to my sons and a mother to my daughters. Then I have to be a father to my daughters and a mother to my sons. And this is all day long until they are old enough to be on their own.

I have never been a lazy woman. I have worked through every one of my 12 pregnancies. Sometimes I worked two jobs. Once I worked from 8:00 in the morning to 5:30 in the afternoon at a dry cleaners, and from 7:30 to 3:30 in the morning as a barmaid. I got off work at 2:30 one morning and had my baby at 3:30.

I never heard of ADC until after my husband left me and I had to go to the hospital. I left Ohio, where all my children were born, and came to Detroit because I found out through the Welfare Rights Organization that in Michigan I could buy a house. In Ohio you could work and supplement your ADC check but in Detroit they deduct from your check if you work.

I moved because in Ohio I was paying $136 rent for five rooms. There is a space law there that each child must have so much space, *but there just were no big places available except in the projects. And there is so much discrimination that it would have been four years or more before I could have hoped to get in one of those.

Welfare is supposed to be a temporary thing. But I see my children falling into the same category I am in. I'm not worried about myself. I'm worried about the youngsters who will have to take over tomorrow. I know they have to get an education to get out of the rut we are in, but I sometimes worry that if I scuffle and get them an education in this society the way it is now, they might grow up and forget to be human beings.

It doesn't make sense. If a mother abandons her child and the child is placed in a foster home, the foster mother gets $300 a year for clothing allowance. But if a mother wants to raise her children herself, she is expected to do it on $11 a year. They want to take my children because I refused to send them to school without sufficient clothing.

We went downtown to see the welfare officials and they said we could stay as long as we weren't a nuisance. But if we weren't a nuisance to them, they'd just walk by us all day long. I've blocked doors. Tliat's the worst thing in the world according to them. The worst thing in the world, to me, is children who don't have enough clothes and enough to eat. I've had six of my children go to jail with me. They know what we're fighting for.

I started working with the Welfare Rights Organization in 1963. I was one of the founders. We walked 149 miles through Ohio and got a coalition, and spread out from coast to coast. We are a group of women who have joined together—a group of women who know what it is to fight, what it is to be walked on, what it is to be hit on the head. Ever since the first time I spoke out at a demonstration and one of the reporters printed our addresses in the papers, I have been getting all kinds of hate mail. I've been called unprintable names. One person asked where Eichmann was now that they needed him. Another said I should be shot and my children should be gassed.

I have been dragged down the steps, and they made sure my body hit every step. I have been beat on the head. But I didn't turn around. Because I was fighting for

something I wanted—and it wasn't for me, but for somebody else.

Sometimes you have to fight for somebody else before you understand what freedom is. You never really have it, but you recognize what it is by going out to fight for it for somebody else. You think about the next generation that's coming behind you, and I'm not just thinking about my children, but my grandchildren.

Freedom is something that all of us need. Women really need it. Freedom is a beautiful thing—but as women, we will lose something in gaining our freedom. We better know what it is we are really aiming for. Freedom is a responsibility that you have to be able to shoulder. I know the burdens that will be on my shoulders. But I know that I can't live without these burdens.

Double Jeopardy.- To Be Black and Female

FRANCES M. BEAL

In attempting to analyze the situation of the black woman in America, one crashes abruptly into a solid wall of grave misconceptions, outright distortions of fact and defensive attitudes on the part of many. The system of capitalism (and its afterbirth, racism) under which we all live, has attempted by many devious ways and means to destroy the humanity of all people, and particularly the humanity of black people. This has meant an outrageous assault on every black man, woman and child who resides in the United States.

In keeping with its goal of destroying the black race's will to resist its subjugation, capitalism found it necessary to create a situation where the black man found it impossible to find meaningful or productive employment. More often .than not, he couldn't find work of any kind. And the black woman likewise was manipulated by the

system, economically exploited and physically assaulted. She could often find work in the white man's kitchen, however, and sometimes became the sole breadwinner of the family. This predicament has led to many psychological problems on the part of both man and woman and has contributed to the turmoil that we find in the black family structure.

Unfortunately, neither the black man nor the black woman understood the true nature of the forces working upon them. Many black women tended to accept the capitalist evaluation of manhood and womanhood and believed, in fact, that black men were shiftless and lazy, otherwise they would get a job and support their families as they ought to. Personal relationships between black men and women were thus torn asunder and one result has been the separation of man from wife, mother from child, etc.

America has defined the roles to which each individual should subscribe. It has defined "manhood" in terms of its own interests and "femininity" likewise. Therefore, an individual who has a good job, makes a lot of money and drives a Cadillac is a real "man," and conversely, an individual who is lacking in these "qualities" is less of a man. The advertising media in this country continuously informs the American male of his need for indispensable signs of his virility—the brand of cigarettes that cowboys prefer, the whiskey that has a masculine tang or the label of the jockstrap that athletes wear.

The ideal model that is projected for a woman is to be surrounded by hypocritical homage and estranged from all real work, spending idle hours primping and preening, obsessed with conspicuous consumption, and limiting life's functions to simply a sex role. We unqualitatively reject these respective models. A woman who stays at home, caring for children and the house, often leads an extremely Sterile existence. She must lead her entire life as a satellite to her mate. He goes out into society and brings back a little piece of the world for her. His interests and his understanding of the world become her own and she cannot develop herself as an individual, having been reduced to only a biological function. This kind of woman leads a parasitic existence that can aptly be described as "legalized prostitution."

Furthermore, it is idle dreaming to think of black women

simply caring for their homes and children like the middle-class white model. Most black women have to work to help house, feed and clothe their families. Black women make up a substantial percentage of the black working force and this is true for the poorest black family as well as the so-called middle-class family.

Black women were never afforded any such phony luxuries. Though we have been browbeaten with this white image, the reality of the degrading and dehumanizing jobs that were relegated to us quickly dissipated this mirage of womanhood. The following excerpts from a speech that Sojourner Truth made at a Women's Rights Convention in the nineteenth century show us how misleading and incomplete a life this model represents for us:

. . . Well, chilern, whar dar is so much racket dar must be something out o'kilter. I tink dat 'twixt de niggers of de Scmf and de women at de Norf all a talkin' 'bout rights, de white men will be in a fix pretty soon. But what's all dis here talkin' 'bout? Dat man ober dar say dat women needs to be helped into carriages, and lifted ober ditches, and to have de best place every whar. Nobody ever help me into carriages, or ober mud puddles, or gives me any best places, . . . and ar'nt I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm? ... I have plowed, and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me—and ar'nt I a woman? I could work as much as a man (when I could get it), and bear de lash as well—and ar'nt I a woman? I have borne five chilern and I seen 'em mos' all sold off into slavery, and when I cried out with a mother's grief, none but Jesus heard —and ar'nt I a woman?

Unfortunately, there seems to be some cdtifusion in the movement today as to who has been oppressing whom. Since the advent of black power, the black male has exerted a more prominent leadership role in our struggle for justice in this country. He sees the*system for what it really is for the most part, but where he rejects its values and mores on many issues, when it comes to women, he seems to take his guidelines from the pages of the Ladies' Home Journal. Certain black men are maintaining that

they have been castrated by society but that black women somehow escaped this persecution and even contributed to this emasculation.

Let me state here and now that the black woman in America can justly be described as a "slave of a slave." By reducing the black man in America to such abject oppression, the black woman had no protector and was used, and is still being used in some cases, as the scapegoat for the evils that this horrendous system has perpetrated on black men. Her physical image has been maliciously maligned; she has been sexually molested and abused by the white colonizer; she has suffered the worst kind of economic exploitation, having been forced to serve as the white woman's maid and wet nurse for white offspring while her own children were more often than not starving and neglected. It is the depth of degradation to be socially manipulated, physically raped, used to undermine your own household, and to be powerless to reverse this syndrome.

It is true that our husbands, fathers, brothers and sons have been emasculated, lynched and brutalized. They have suffered from the cruellest assault on mankind that the world has ever known. However, it is a gross distortion of fact to state that black women have oppressed black men. The capitalist system found it expedient to enslave and oppress them and proceeded to do so without consultation or the signing of any agreements with black women.

It must also be pointed out at this time that black women are not resentful of the rise to power of black men. We welcome it. We see in it the eventual liberation of all black people from this corrupt system of capitalism. Nevertheless, this does not mean that you have to negate one for the other. This kind of thinking is a product of miseducation: that either it's X or it's Y. Tt is fallacious reasoning that in order for the black man to be strong, the black woman has to be wea^.

Those who are exerting their "manhood" by telling black women to step back into a domestic, submissive role are assuming a counterrevolutionary position. Black women likewise have been abused by the system and we must begin talking about the elimination of all kinds of oppression. If we are talking about building a strong nation, capable of throwing off the yoke of capitalist oppression, then we are talking about the total involvement of every man, woman,

and child, each with a highly developed political consciousness. We need our whole army out there dealing with the enemy and not half an army.

There are also some black women who feel that there is no more productive role in life than having and raising children. This attitude often reflects the conditioning of the society in which we live and is adopted from a bourgeois white model. Some young sisters who have never had to maintain a household and accept the confining role which this entails, tend to romanticize (along with the help of a few brothers) this role of housewife and mother. Black women who have had to endure this kind of function are less apt to have these Utopian visions.

Those who project in an intellectual manner how great and rewarding this role will be and who feel that the most important thing that they can contribute to the black nation is children, are doing themselves a great injustice. This line of reasoning completely negates the contributions that black women have historically made to our struggle for liberation. These black women include Sojourner Truth, Harriet Tubman, Mary McLeod Bethune and Fannie Lou Hamer, to name but a few.

We live in a highly industrialized society and every member of the black nation must be as academically and technologically developed as possible. To wage a revolution, we need competent teachers, doctors, nurses, electronics experts, chemists, biologists, physicists, political scientists, and so on and so forth. Black women sitting at home reading bedtime stories to their children are just not going to make it.

ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF BLACK WOMEN

The economic system of capitalism finds it expedient to reduce womeh to a state of enslavement. They oftentimes serve as a scapegoat for the evils of this system. Much in the same way that the poor white cracker of the South who is equally victimized, looks down upon blacks and contributes to the oppression of blacks, so, by giving to men a false feeling of superiority (at least in their own home or in their relationships with women)., the oppression of

women acts as an escape valve for capitalism. Men may be cruelly exploited and subjected to all sorts of dehumanizing tactics on the part of the ruling class, but they have someone who is below them—at least they're not women.

Women also represent a surplus labor supply, the control of which is absolutely necessary to the profitable functioning of capitalism. Women are systematically exploited by the system. They are paid less for the same work that men do and jobs that are specifically relegated to women are low-paying and without the possibility of advancement. Statistics from the Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor show that in 1967 the wage scale for white women was even below that of black men; and the wage scale for nonwhite women was the lowest of

Those industries which employ mainly black women are the most exploitive in the country/Domestic and hospital workers are good examples of this oppression; the garment workers in New York City provide us with another view of this economic slavery. The International Ladies' Garment Workers Union (ILGWU), whose overwhelming membership consists of black and Puerto Rican women, has a leadership that is nearly all lily-white and male. This leadership has been working in collusion with the ruling class and has completely sold its soul to the corporate structure.

To add insult to injury, the ILGWU has invested heavily in business enterprises in racist, apartheid South Africa—*: with union funds. Not only does this bought-off leadership contribute to our continued exploitation in this country by not truly representing the best interests of its membership, but it audaciously uses funds that black and Puerto Rican women have provided to support the economy of a vicious government that is engaged in the economic rape and murder of our black brothers and sisters in our Motherland, Africa.

The entire labor movement in the United States has suffered as a result of the superexploitation of black

all:

White Males .....

Nonwhite Males ...
White Females ...
Nonwhite Females

$6,704
$4,277
$3,991
$2,861

workers and women. The unions have historically been racist and chauvinistic. They have upheld racism in this country and have failed to fight the white-skin privileges of white workers. They have failed to fight or even make an issue against the inequities in the hiring and pay of women workers. There has been virtually no struggle against either the racism of the white worker or the economic exploitation of the working woman, two factors which have consistently impeded the advancement of the real struggle against the ruling class.

This racist, chauvinistic and manipulative use of black workers and women, especially black women, has been a severe cancer on the American labor scene. It therefore becomes essential for those who understand the workings of capitalism and imperialism to realize that the exploitation of black people and women works to everyone's disadvantage and that the liberation of these two groups is a stepping stone to the liberation of all oppressed people in this country and around the world.

BEDROOM POLITICS

I have briefly discussed the economic and psychological manipulation of black women, but perhaps the most outlandish act of oppression in modern times is the current campaign to promote sterilization of nonwhite women in an attempt to maintain the population and power imbalance between the white haves and the nonwhite have-nots.

These tactics are but another example of the many devious schemes that the ruling-class elite attempt to perpetrate on the black population in order to keep itself in control. It has recently come to our attention that a massive campaign for so-called birth control is presently being promoted not only in the underdeveloped nonwhite areas of the world, but also in black communities here in the United States. However, what the authorities in charge of these programs refer to as "birth control" is in fact nothing but a method of outright surgical genocide.

The United States has been sponsoring sterilization clinics in nonwhite countries, especially in India, where already

some three million young men and boys in and around New Delhi have been sterilized in makeshift operating rooms set up by the American Peace Corps workers. Under these circumstances, it is understandable why certain countries view the Peace Corps not as a benevolent project, not as evidence of America's concern for underdeveloped areas, but rather as a threat to their very existence. This program could more aptly be named "The Death Corps."

The vasectomy which is performed on males and takes only six or seven minutes is a relatively simple operation. The sterilization of a woman, on the other hand, is admittedly major surgery. This operation (salpingectomy)1 must be performed in a hospital under general anesthesia. This method of "birth control" is a common procedure in Puerto Rico. Puerto Rico has long been used by the colonialist exploiter, the United States, as a huge experimental laboratory for medical research before allowing certain practices to be imported and used here. When the birth-control pill was first being perfected, it was tried out on Puerto Rican women and selected black women (poor>, using them like human guinea pigs, to evaluate its efl&ct and its efficiency.

The salpingectomy has now become the commonest operation in Puerto Rico, commoner than an appendectomy or a tonsilectomy. It is so widespread that it is referred to simply as "la operation" On the Island, 30 percent of the women between the ages of fifteen and forty-five have already been sterilized.

And now, as previously occurred with the pill, this method has been imported into the United States. These sterilization clinics are cropping up around the country in the black and Puerto Rican communities. These so-called maternity clinics, specifically outfitted to purge black women or men of their reproductive possibilities, are appearing more and more in hospitals and clinics across the country.

A number of organizations have been formed to popularize the idea of sterilization such as The Association for Voluntary Sterilization and The Human Betterment (!!!?) Association for Voluntary Sterilization, Inc., which has its

l Salpingectomy—Surgical removal of uterine tube.

headquarters in New York City. Front Royal, Virginia has one such "maternity clinic" in Warren Memorial Hospital. The tactics used in the clinic in Fauquier County, Virginia, where poor and helpless black mothers and young girls are pressured into undergoing sterilization, are certainly not confined to that clinic alone.

Threatened with the cutoff of relief funds, some black welfare women have been forced to accept this sterilization procedure in exchange for a continuation of welfare benefits. Mount Sinai Hospital in New York City performs these operations on many of its ward patients whenever it can convince the women to undergo this surgery. Mississippi and some of the other Southern states are notorious for this act. Black women are often afraid to permit any kind of necessary surgery because they know from bitter experience that they are more likely than not to come out of the hospital without their insides. (Both salpingectomies and hysterectomies are performed.)

We condemn this use of the black woman as a medical testing ground for the white middle class. Reports of the ill effects including deaths from the use of the birth-control pill only started to come to light when the white privileged class began to be affected. These outrageous Nazi-like procedures on the part of medical researchers are but another manifestation of the totally amoral and dehumanizing brutality that the capitalist system perpetrates on black women. The sterilization experiments carried on in concentration camps some 25 years ago have been denounced the world over, but no one seems to get upset by the repetition of these same racist tactics today in the United States of America—land of the free and home of the brave. This campaign is as nefarious a program as Germany's gas chambers and, in a long-term sense, as effective and with the same objective.

The rigid laws concerning abortions in this country are another vicious means of subjugation and, indirectly, of outright murder. Rich white women somehow manage to obtain these operations with little or no difficulty. It is the poor black and Puerto Rican woman who is at the mercy of the local butcher. Statistics show us that the nonwhite death rate at the hands of the unqualified abortionist is substantially higher than for white women. Nearly half of

the childbearing deaths in New York City are attributed to abortion alone and out of these, 79 percent are among nonwhites and Puerto Rican women.

We are not saying that black women should not practice birth control. Black women have the right and the responsibility to determine when it is in the interest of the struggle to have children or not to have them, and this right must not be relinquished to anyone. It is also her right and responsibility to determine when it is in her own best interests to have children, how many she will have, and how far apart. The lack of the availability of safe birth-control methods, the forced sterilization practices and the inability to obtain legal abortions are all symptoms of a decadent society that jeopardizes the health of black women (and thereby the entire black race) in its attempts to control the very life processes of human beings. This is a symptom of a society that believes it has the right to bring political factors into the privacy of the bedchamber. The elimination of these horrendous conditions will free black women for full participation in the revolution and, thereafter, in the building of the new society.

RELATIONSHIP TO WHITE MOVEMENT

Much has been written recently about the white women's liberation movement in the United States and the question arises whether there are any parallels between this struggle and the movement on the part of black women for total emancipation. While there are certain comparisons that one can make, simply because we both live under the same exploitive system, there are certain differences, some of which are quite basic.

The white women's movement is far from being monolithic. Any white group that does not have an anti-imperialist and antiracist ideology has absolutely nothing in common with the black woman's struggle. In fact, some groups come to the incorrect conclusion that their oppression is due simply to male chauvinism. They therefore have an extremely antimale tone to their dissertations. Black people are engaged in a life and death struggle and the main emphasis of black women must be to combat the

capitalist, racist exploitation of black people. While it is true that male chauvinism has become institutionalized in American society, one must always look for the main enemy—the fundamental cause of the female condition.

Another major differentiation is that the white women's liberation movement is basically middle class. Very few of these women suffer the extreme economic exploitation that most black women are subjected to day by day. This is the factor that is most crucial for us. It is not an intellectual persecution alone; it is not an intellectual outburst for us; it is; it is quite real. We as black women have got to deal with the problems that the black masses deal with, for our problems in reality are one and the same.

If the white groups do not realize that they are in fact fighting capitalism and racism, we do not have common bonds. If they do not realize that the reasons for their condition lie in the system and not simply that men get a vicarious pleasure out of "consuming their bodies for exploitive reasons" (this kind of reasoning seems to be quite prevalent in certain white women's groups), then we cannot unite with them around common grievances or even discuss these groups in a serious manner because they're completely irrelevant to the black struggle.

THE NEW WORLD

The black community and black women especially must beg n raising questions about the kind of society we wish to see established. We must note the ways in which capital-EMftpaprcsscs us and then move to create institutions that will dim jnate these destructive influences.

The new world that we are attempting to create must destroy oppression of any type. The value of this new system will be determined by the status of the person who was low man on the totem pole. Unless women in any enslaved nation are completely liberated, the change cannot rwtiii' be called a revolution. If the black woman has to retreat to the position she occupied before the armed druggie, the whole movement and the whole struggle will "tele repeated in terms of truly freeing the colonized Mwlation.

A people's revolution that engages the participation of every member of the community, including man, woman, and child, brings about a certain transformation in the participants as a result of this participation. Once you have caught a glimpse of freedom or experienced a bit of self-determination, you can't go back to old routines that were established under a racist, capitalist regime. We must begin to understand that a revolution entails not only the willingness to lay our lives on the firing line and get killed. In some ways, this is an easy commitment to make. To die for the revolution is a one-shot deaf; to live for the revolution means taking on the more difficult commitment of changing our day-to-day life patterns.

This will mean changing the traditional routines that we have established as a result of living in a totally corrupting society. It means changing how you relate to your wife, your husband, your parents and your co-workers. If we are going to liberate ourselves as a people, it must be recognized that black women have very specific problems that have to be spoken to. We must be liberated along with the rest of the population. We cannot wait to start working on those problems until that great day in the future when the revolution somehow miraculously is accomplished,

To assign women the role of housekeeper and mother while men go forth into battle is a highly questionable doctrine for a revolutionary to maintain. Each individual j: must develop a high political consciousness in order to understand how this system enslaves us all and what J actions we must take to bring -about its total destri. >n Those who consider themselves to be revolutionary must i begin to deal with other revolutionaries as equals. And so far as I know, revolutionaries are not determined by sex.

Old people, young people, men and women must take jl part in the struggle. To relegate women to purely supportive roles or to purely cultural considerations is dangerousjl doctrine to project. Unless black men who are preparing ,f themselves for armed struggle understand that the society j which we are trying to create is one in which the oppression of all members of that society is eliminated, then the revolution will have failed in its avowed purpose.

Given the mutual commitment of black men and black 11 women alike to the liberation of our people and other oppressed peoples around the world, the total involvement of

each individual is necessary. A revplutionary has the re- sponsibility of not only toppling those who are now in a position of power, but to create new institutions that will eliminate all forms of oppression. We must begin to re-write our understanding of traditional personal relationships between man and woman.

All the resources that the black community can muster must be channeled into the struggle. Black women must take an active part in bringing about the kind of society where our children, our loved ones, and each citizen can grow up and live as decent human beings, free from the pressures of racism and capitalist exploitation.

_____3d Women: The Chicana

™*%rH SUTHERLAND

For many militants in the women's liberation movement I aTtbis country today, the following comments of Enriqueta t Vaiquez may come as a shock and perhaps even seem like scop-out-—or "Tommish." But most of these women are 6 $f|t, middle-class in background, and in the majority of population. They have little gut understanding of the position of women from a colonized—not merely op-

For the woman of a colonized group, even the most : political.her oppression as a woman is usually over- shadowed by the common oppression of both male and . JWfc. Black and brown people in this country are 1 f||teg for sheer survival against the physical genocide I (including a high draft rate), police brutality, aa^et, deprivation—and against the cultural genocide of »ake Anglo institutions and values. The overused word '«il^fity', becomcs significant here; any colonized woman § » an impulse toward unity with her brothers rather • 4mb challenge, but when the colonized group is the

minority, as in the United States, this becomes even truer. The very growth of the white radical movement in this country during recent years is one reason why white women have begun to reject their roles in that movement. There is room for it, time for it, in a way that did not seem to exist before.

The sensitive woman from a colonized people also recognizes that many times it has been easier for her economically than for the men of her group. Often she can get a job where a man cannot. She can see the damage done to the men as a result, and feels reluctant to risk threatening their self-respect even further. This may be a short-range viewpoint involving false definitions of manhood, but it is created by immediate realities whose force cannot merely be wished away. It is also a fact that in many Chicano families, the woman makes many of the important decisions—not just consumer decisions—though the importance of her role will be recognized only privately. This may seem hypocritical or like a double standard, but the knowledge of having real influence affects how the Chicana feels.

There is something else, and larger. It has been eloquently described by Maria Varela, now working in the Chicano movement of the Southwest:

When your race is fighting for survival—to eat, to be clothed, to be housed, to be left in peace—as a woman, you know who you are. You are the principle of life, of survival and endurance. No matter how your husband is—strong but needing you to keep on, or weak and needing you for strength, or brutal and using you to keep his manhood intact—no matter what he is, your children survive and survive only through your will, your day-to-day battle against inimical forces. You know who you are. This is even more true when, as a woman, you are involved in battling the forces of oppression against your race. For the Chicano woman battling for her people, the family—the big family—is a fortress against the genocidal forces in the outside world. It is the source of strength for a people whose identity is constantly being whittled away. The mother is the center of that fortress.

P For the young, alienated Anglos, on the other hand, the family as it has functioned in the past often reflects a bun- dle of false values in a lying society of which she is part. Her position is almost the opposite of the Chieana's. And the family is but one example of how the culture or life- style of a colonized people becomes a weapon of self- defense in a hostile world—hostile to any signs of unity among them, hostile to their very existence. It is a weapon Bgainst the oppressor's tactic of "divide and conquer," with which he has sustained his rule these many centuries.

That life-style may have other roots as well, but to chal- ' lenge it today means to risk being seen as the oppressor. "We don't want to become like the dominating Anglo Women," you can hear Chicanas say. The comment shows a great lack of understanding of the Anglo woman's strug- iK but it also reveals how deeply cultural integrity is Bterwoven with survival for a colonized people. The mid- dle-class Anglo woman must therefore beware of telling her black or brown sisters to throw off their chains—with- HMt'gt least first understanding the origins and reasons for those "chains." And also without first asking themselves: ! »; there perhaps some aspects of these other life-styles -from which we, with our advanced ideas, might still learn? i At the same time, we can hope that women from colo- afeed groups will listen with open minds to their Anglo ,Miters' ideas about women's liberation and then take an- other look at their own values. There is, for example, noth- ing worth preserving about the young Chicano male habit llJBSghting at a dance over some girl whom the fighters iwdly know—to prove their manhood. There is, on the other hand, much to be gained by examining the "Anglo- idea that authoritarianism—always male—does not merely oppress women but also the masses; that the struggle "Power to the People" is intimately linked to the en's liberation struggle. In the present age of nation- i combined with the intensified repression of colonized s, such an open-minded exchange of ideas must be lit. But for those who have moved on to revolu- values, no other real choice exists.

ueta Vasquez is a revolutionary, with her own tone e. Let Anglo women listen for her voice, not merely es of their own.

THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN WOMAN

Enriqueta Longauex y Vasquez

While attending a Mexican-American conference in Colorado this year, I went to one of the workshops that were held to discuss the role of the Chicana—the Mexican-American woman, the woman of La Raza.1 When the time came for the women to report to the full conference, the only thing that the workshop representative had to say was this: "It was the consensus of the group that the Chicana woman does not want to be liberated."

As a woman who has been faced with living as a member of the Mexican-American minority group, as a breadwinner and a mother raising children, living in housing projects, and having much concern for other humans plus much community involvement, I felt this as quite a blow. I could have cried. Surely we could at least have come up with something to add to that statement. I sat back and thought, Why? Why? Then I understood why the statement had been matte and I realized that going along with the feelings of the men at the convention was perhaps the best thing to do at the time.

Looking at the history of the Chicana or Mexican woman, we see that her role has been a very strong one--although a silent one. When the woman has seen the suffer* ing of her people, she has always responded bravely and as a totally committed and equal human. My mother told me of how, during the time of Pancho Villa and the revoiutioo in Mexico, she saw the men march through the village continually for three days and then she saw the battalion of women marching for a whole day. The women carried. food and supplies; also, they were fully armed and weariM loaded carrilleras. In battle they fought alongside the Out of the Mexican Revolution came the revolutionary j personage "Adelita," who wore her rebozo crossed at the.

'Literally, "The Race," a term referring to people in the Un4«<, States who are descended from the American Indians and the SptflB colonialists; also carries the meaning, "a new breed."—Ed. JS

bosom as a symbol of the revolutionary women in Mexico.

Then we have our heroine Juana Gallo, a brave woman who led her men to battle against the government after having seen her father and other villagers hanged for defending the land of the people. She and many other women fought bravely with their people. And if called upon again, they would be there alongside the men to fight to the bitter end.

; Today, as we hear the call of La Raza and as the dormant, "docile" Mexican-American comes to life, we see again the stirring of the people. With that call, the Chicana woman also stirs and I am sure that she will leave her mark upon the Mexican-American movement in the Southwest.

How the Chicana woman reacts depends totally on how the Macho Chicano2 is treated when he goes out into the "mainstream of society." If the husband is so-called successful, the woman seems to become very domineering and|idemands more and more in material goods. I ask myself at times, Why are the women so demanding? Can they not see what they make of their men? But then I realize: this is the price of owning a slave.

A woman who has no way of expressing herself and of realizing herself as a full human has nothing else to turn to but the owning of material things. She builds her entire Life around these, and finds security in this way. All she has to live for is her house and family; she becomes very possessive of both. This makes her a totally dependent human. Dependent on her husband and family. Most of the Chicana women in this comfortable situation are not particularly involved in the movement. Many times it is because of the fear of censorship in general. Censorship from husband, the family, friends, and society in general. kfHstitese reasons she is completely inactive.

Then you will find the Chicana whose husband was not able to fare so very well in society, and perhaps has had to face defeat. This is the Chicana who really suffers. Quite ifttii the man will not fight the real source of his problems, be it discrimination or whatever, but will instead come and take it out on his family. As this continues, his

•JM° and machismo—a term used among the Mexican-Americans other Latins) as a sense of manhood, defining the behavior of me male as truly masculine according to how superior and domi- ' snj he acts.—Ed.

Chicana becomes the victim of his machismo and woeful are the trials and tribulations of that household.

Much of this is seen, particularly in the city. The man, being head of the household but unable to fight the system he lives in, will very likely lose face and for this reason there will often be a separation or divorce in a family. It is at this time that the Chicana faces the real test of having to confront society as one of its total victims.

There are many things she must do. She must (1) find a way to feed and clothe the family; (2) find housing; (3) find employment; (4) provide child care; and (5) find some kind of social outlet and friendship.

(1) In order to find a way to feed and clothe her family, she must find a job. Because of her suppression she has probably not been able to develop a skill. She is probably unable to find a job that will pay her a decent wage. If she is able to find a job at all, it will probably be sought only for survival. Thus she can hope just to exist; she will hardly be able to live an enjoyable life. Here one of the most difficult problems for the Chicana woman to face is that of going to work. Even if she does have a skill, she must all at once realize that she has been living in a racist society. She will have much difficulty in proving herself in any position. Her work must be three times as good as that of the Anglo majority. Not only this, but the competitive J way of the Anglo will always be there. The Anglo woman f is always there with her superiority complex. The Chicana J woman will be looked upon as having to prove herself even in the smallest task. She is constantly being put to the test, § Not only does she suffer the oppression that the Anglo woman suffers as a woman in the market of humanity, but she must also suffer the oppression of being a minority person with a different set of values. Because her existence. and the livelihood of the children depend on her conform- ing, she tries very hard to conform. Thus she may find herself even rejecting herself as a Mexican-American. Ex- istence itself depends on this.

(2) She must find housing that she will be able to affori She will very likely be unable to live in a decent placef,! will be more the matter of finding a place that is cheap-M is likely that she will have to live in a housing project. Mov she will be faced with the real problem of trying to rail children in an environment that is conducive to mufSf

suffering. The decision as to where she will live is a difficult matter, as she must come face to face with making decisions entirely on her own. This, plus having to live them out, is very traumatic for her.

(3) In finding a job she will be faced with working very hard during the day and coming home to an empty house and again having to work at home. Cooking, washing, ironing, mending, plus spending some time with the children. Her role changes to being both father and mother. All of this, plus being poor, is very hard to bear. On top of this, to have a survey worker or social worker tell you that you have to have incentive and motivations—these are tough pressures to live under. Few men could stand up under such pressures.

(4) Child care is one of the most difficult problems for a woman to have to face alone. Not only is she tormented with having to leave the raising of her children to someone else, but she wants the best of care for them. For the amount of money that she may be able to pay from her meager wages, it is likely that she will be lucky to find anyone at all to take care of the children. The routine of the household is not normal at all. She must start her day artier than an average worker. She must clothe and feed she children before she takes them to be cared for in someone else's home. Then, too, she will have a very hard day a work, for she is constantly worrying about the children. H tfeere are medical problems, this will only multiply her attsss during the day. Not to mention the financial presawof medical care.

(5) With all of this, the fact still remains that she is tatian and must have some kind of friendship and entertainment in life, and this is perhaps one of the most difficult tads facing the Mexican-American woman alone. She can psllably enjoy very little entertainment, since she cannot afford a babysitter. This, plus the fact that she very likely doanot have the clothes, transportation, etc. As she cannot aiord entertainment herself, she may very often fall prey ^letting someone else pay for her entertainment and this sttjr create unwanted involvement with some friend. Wka she begins to keep company with men, she will wsd with the disapproval of her family and often be VBfed upon as having loose moral values. As quite often 4s« not free to remarry in the eyes of the Church, she

will find more and more conflict and disapproval, and she continues to look upon herself with guilt and censorship. Thus she suffers much as a human. Everywhere she looks she seems to be rejected.

This woman has much to offer the movement of the Mexican-American. She has had to live all of the roles of her Raza. She has had to suffer the torments of her people in that she has had to go out into a racist society and be a provider as well as a mother. She has been doubly oppressed and is trying very hard to find a place. Because of all this, she is a very, very strong individual. She has had to become strong in order to exist against these odds.

The Mexican-American movement is not that of just adults fighting the social system, but it is a total commitment of a family unit living what it believes to be a better way of life in demanding social change for the benefit of humankind. When a family is involved in a human rights movement, as is the Mexican-American family, there is little room for a woman's liberation movement alone. There is little room for having a definition of woman's role as such. Roles are for actors and the business at hand requires people living the examples of social change. The Mexican-American movement demands are such that, with the liberation of La Raza, we must have a total liberation. The woman must help liberate the man and the man must look upon this liberation with the woman at his side, not behind him, following, but alongside of him, leading. The family must come up together.

The Raza movement is based on brother- and sisterhood. We must look at each other as one large family. We must look at all of the children as belonging to all of us. We must strive for the fulfillment of all as equals, with the full capability and right to develop as humans. When a man can look upon a woman as human, then, and only then, can he feel the true meaning of liberation and equality.

V. Woman's Cultural Identity

Is there a basic "female" temperament? Are women "innately" less aggressive, more passive than men? How do women in a given society e&n?? to see themselves—and other women—as having certain characteristics and not others? Why do women still grow up trying to fit themselves into a mold that suits so few of them? Many feminists talk as though it were solely Freud's influence, and indeed, much of what Freud said about women had a strong antifeminist bias, which was made even stronger by many of his followers, especially in America. But our current notions of woman's role go back hundreds of years before Freud.

The articles in this section examine some of the past and present agents of our cultural conditioning and woman's awakening awareness of the forces at work on her.

A Work of Artifice

MARGE PIERCY

The bonzai tree
in the attractive pot
could have grown eighty feet tall
on the side of a mountain
till split by lightning.
But a gardener
carefully pruned it.
It is nine inches high.
Every day as he
whittles back the branches,
the gardener croons,
It is your nature
to be small and cosy,
domestic and weak,
how lucky, little tree,
to have a pot to grow in.
With living creatures
one must begin very early
to dwarf their growth:
the bound feet,
the crippled brain,
the hair in curlers,
the hands you
love to touch.

"Conclusion" from Sex and Temperament in Three Primitive Societies

MARGARET MEAD

There are at least three courses open to a society that has realized the extent to which male and f emale personality are socially produced. Two of these courses have been tried before, over and over again, at different times in the long, irregular, repetitious history of the race. The first is to standardize the personality of men and women as clearly contrasting* complementary, and antithetical, and to make every institution in the society congruent with this standardization. If the society declared that woman's sole function was motherhood and the teaching and care of young children, it could so arrange matters that every woman who was not physiologically debarred should become a mother and be supported in the exercise of this function. It could abolish the discrepancy between the doctrine that women's place is the home and the number of homes that were offered to them. It could abolish the discrepancy between training women for marriage and then forcing them to become the spinster supports of their parents.

Such a system would be wasteful of the gifts of many women who could exercise other functions far better than their ability to bear children in an already overpopulated world. It would be wasteful of the gifts of many men who could exercise their special personality gifts far better in the home than in the marketplace. It would be wasteful, but it would be clear. It could attempt to guarantee to each individual the role for" which society insisted upon training him or her, and such a system would penalize only those individuals who, in spite of all the training, did not display the approved personalities. There are millions of persons who would gladly return to such a standardized method of treating the relationship between the sexes, and we must

bear in mind the possibility that the greater opportunities open in the twentieth century to women may be quite withdrawn, and that we may return to a strict regimentation of women.

The waste, if this occurs, will be not only of many women, but also of as many men, because regimentation of one sex carries with it, to greater or less degree, the regimentation of the other also. Every parental behest that defines a way of sitting, a response to a rebuke or a threat, a game, or an attempt to draw or sing or dance or paint, as feminine, is moulding the personality of each little girl's brother as well as moulding the personality of the sister. There can be no society which insists that-women follow one special personality-pattern, defined as feminine, which does not do violence also to the individuality of many men.

Alternatively, society can take the course that has become especially associated with the plans of most radical groups: admit that men and women are capable of being moulded to a single pattern as easily as to a diverse one, and cease to make any distinction in the approved personality of both sexes. Girls can be trained exactly as boys are trained, taught the same code, the same forms of expression, the same occupations. This course might seem to be the logic which follows from the conviction that the potentialities which different societies label as either masculine or feminine are really potentialities of some members of each sex, and not sex-linked at all. If this is accepted, is it not reasonable to abandon the kind of artificial standardizations of sex-differences that have been so long characteristic of European society, and admit that they are social fictions for which we have no longer any use? In the world today, contraceptives make it possible for women not to bear children against their will. The most conspicuous actual difference between the sexes, the difference in strength, is progressively less significant. Just as the difference in height between males is no longer a realistic issue, now that lawsuits have been substituted for hand-to-hand encounters, so the difference in strength between men and women is no longer worth elaboration in cultural institutions.

In evaluating such a program as this, however, it is necessary to keep in mind the nature of the gains that so-

ciety has achieved in its most complex forms. A sacrifice of distinctions in sex-personality may mean a sacrifice in complexity. The Arapesh recognize a minimum of distinction in personality between old and young, between men and women, and they lack categories of rank or status. We have seen that such a society at the best condemns to personal frustration, and at the worst to maladjustment, all of those men and women who do not conform to its simple emphases. The violent person among the Arapesh cannot find, either in the literature, or in the art, or in the ceremonial, or in the history of his people, any expression of the internal drives that are shattering his peace of mind. Nor is the loser CflJy the individual whose own type of personality is nowhere recognized in his society. The imaginative, highly intelligent person who is essentially in tune with the values of his society may also suffer by the lack of range and depth characteristic of too great simplicity. The active mind and intensity of one Arapesh boy whom I knew well was unsatisfied by the laissez-faire solutions, the lack of drama in his culture. Searching for some material upon which to exercise his imagination, his longing for a life in which stronger emotions would be possible, he could find nothing with which to feel his imagination but tales of the passionate outbursts of the maladjusted, outbursts characterized by a violent hostility to others that he himself lacked.

Nor is it the individual alone who suffers. Society is equally the loser, and we have seen such an attenuation in the dramatic representations of the Mundugumor. By phrasing the exclusion of women as a protective measure congenial to both sexes, the Arapesh kept their tamberan cult, with the necessary audiences of women. But the Mundugumor developed a kind of personality for both men and women to which exclusion from any part of life was interpreted as a deadly insult. And as more and more Mundugumor women have demanded and been given the right of initiation, it is not surprising that the Mundugumor ceremonial life has dwindled, the actors have lost their audience, and one vivid artistic element in the life of the Mundugumor community is vanishing. The sacrifice of sex-differences has meant a loss in complexity to the society.

So in our own society. To insist that there are 90 sex-

differences in a society that has always believed in them and depended upon them may be as subtle a form of standardizing personality as to insist that there are many sex-differences. This is particularly so in a changing tradition, when a group in control is attempting to develop a new social personality, as is the case today in many European countries. Take, for instance, the current assumption that women are more opposed to war than men, that any outspoken approval of war is more horrible, more revolting, in women than in men. Behind this assumption women can work for peace without encountering social criticism in communities that would immediately criticize their brothers or husbands if they took a similarly active part in peace propaganda. This belief that women are naturally more interested in peace is undoubtedly artificial, part of the whole mythology that considers women to be gentler than men. But in contrast let us consider the possibility of a powerful minority that wished to turn a whole society wholeheartedly toward war. One way of doing this would be to insist that women's motives, women's interests, were identical with men's, that women should take as bloodthirsty a delight in preparing for war as ever men do. The insistence upon the opposite point of view, that the woman as a mother prevails over the woman as a citizen at least puts a slight drag upon agitation for war, prevents a blanket enthusiasm for war from being thrust upon the entire younger generation. The same kind of result follows if the clergy are professionally committed to a belief in peace. The relative bellicosity of different individual clerics may be either offended or gratified by the prescribed pacific role, but a certain protest, a certain dissenting note, will be sounded in society. The dangerous standardization of attitudes that disallows every type of deviation is greatly reinforced if neither age nor sex nor religious belief is regarded as automatically predisposing certain individuals to hold minority attitudes. The removal of all legal and economic barriers against women's participating in the world on an equal footing with men may be in itself a standardizing move toward the wholesale stamping-out of the diversity of attitudes that is such a dearly bought product of civilization.

Such a standardized society, in which men, women, children, priest, and soldiers were all trained to an undifferenti-

ated and coherent set of values, must of necessity create the kind of deviant that we found among the Arapesh and the Mundugumor, the individual who, regardless of sex or occupation, rebels because he is temperamentally unable to accept the one-sided emphasis of his culture. The individuals who were specifically unadjusted in terms of their psychosexual role would, it is true, vanish, but with them would vanish the knowledge that there is more than one set of possible values.

To the extent that abolishing the differences in the approved personalities of men and women means abolishing any expression of the type of personality once called exclusively feminine, or once called exclusively masculine, such a course involves a social loss. Just as a festive occasion is the gayer and more charming if the two sexes are dressed differently, so it is in less material matters. If the clothing is in itself a symbol, and a woman's shawl corresponds to a recognized softness in her character, the whole plot of personal relations is made more elaborate, and in many ways more rewarding. The poet of such a society will praise virtues, albeit feminine virtues, which might never have any part in a social Utopia that allowed no differences between the personalities of men and women.

To the extent that a society insists upon different kinds of personality so that one age-group or class or sex-group may follow purposes disallowed or neglected in another, each individual participant in that society is the richer. The arbitrary assignment of set clothing, set manners, set social responses, to individuals born in a certain class, of a certain sex, or of a certain color, to those born on a certain day of the week, to those born with a certain complexion, does violence to the individual endowment of individuals, but permits the building of a rich culture. The most extreme development of a society that has attained great complexity at the expense of the individual is historical India, based, as it was, upon the uncompromising association of a thousand attributes of behavior, attitude, and occupation with an accident of birth. To each individual there was given the security, although it might be the security of despair, of a set role, and the reward of being born into a highly complex society.

Furthermore, when we consider the position of the deviant individual in historical cultures, those who are

born into a complex society in the wrong sex or class fcT their personalities to have full sway are in a better position than those who are born into a simple society which does not use in any way their special temperamental gifts. The violent woman in a society that permits violence to men only, the strongly emotional member of an aristocracy in a culture that permits downright emotional expression only in the peasantry, the ritualistically inclined individual who is bred a Protestant in a country which has also Catholic institutions—each one of these can find expressed in some other group in the society the emotions that he or she is forbidden to manifest. He is given a certain kind of support by the mere existence of these values, values so congenial to him and so inaccessible because of an accident of birth. For those who are content with a vicarious spectator-role, or with materials upon which to feast the creative imagination, this may be almost enough. They may be content to experience from the sidewalks during a parade, from the audience of a theatre or from the nave of a church, those emotions the direct expression of which is denied to them. The crude compensations offered by the moving pictures to those whose lives are emotionally starved are offered in subtler forms by the art and literature of a complex society to the individual who is out of place in his sex or his class or his occupational group.

Sex-adjustments, however, are not a matter of spectatorship, but a situation in which the most passive individual must play some part if he or she is to participate fully in life. And while we may recognize the virtues of complexity, the interesting and charming plots that cultures can evolve upon the basis of accidents of birth, we may well ask: Is not the price too high? Could not the beauty that lies in contrast and complexity be obtained in some other way? If the social insistence upon different personalities for the two sexes results in so much confusion, so many unhappy deviants, so much disorientation, can we imagine a society that abandons these distinctions without abandoning the values that are at present dependent upon them?

Let us suppose that, instead of the classification laid down on the "natural" bases of sex and race, a society had classified personality on the basis of eye color. It had decreed that all blue-eyed people were gentle, submissive# and responsive to the needs of othejrs, and all brown-eyed

^people were arrogant, dominating, self-centered, and purposive. In this case two complementary social themes would be woven together—the culture, in its art, its religion, its formal personal relations, would have two threads instead of one. There would be blue-eyed men, and blue-eyed women, which would mean that there were gentle, "maternal" women, and gentle, "maternal" men. A blue-eyed man might marry a woman who had been bred to the same personality as himself, or a brown-eyed woman who had been bred to the contrasting personality. One of the strong tendencies that makes for homosexuality, the tendency to love the similar rather than the antithetical person, would be eliminated. Hostility between the two sexes as groups would be minimized, since the individual interests of members of each sex could be woven together in different ways, and marriages of similarity and friendships of contrast need carry no necessary handicap of possible psychosexual maladjustment. The individual would still suffer a mutilation of his temperamental preferences, for it would be the unrelated fact of eye color that would determine the attitudes which he was educated to show. Every blue-eyed person would be forced into submissiveness and declared maladjusted if he or she showed any traits that it had been decided were only appropriate to the brown-eyed. The greatest social loss, however, in the classification of personality on the basis of sex would not be present in this society which based its classification on eye color. Human relations, and especially those which involve sex, would not be artificially distorted.

But such a course, the substitution of eye color for sex as a basis upon which to educate children into groups showing contrasting personalities, while it would be a definite advance upon a classification by sex, remains a parody of all the attempts that society has made through history to define an individual's role in terms of sex, or color, or date of birth, or shape of head.

However, the only solution of the problem does not lie between an acceptance of standardization of sex-differences with the resulting cost in individual happiness and adjustment, and the abolition of these differences with the consequent loss in social values. A civilization might take its cues not from such categories as age or sex, race or hereditary position in a family line, but instead of specializing person-

ality along such simple lines recognize, train, and make a place for many and divergent temperamental endowments. It might build upon the different potentialities that it now attempts to extirpate artificially in some children and create artificially in others.

Historically the lessening of rigidity in the classification of the sexes has come about at different times, either by the creation of a new artificial category, or by the recognition of real individual differences. Sometimes the idea of social position has transcended sex-categories. In a society that recognizes gradations in wealth or rank, women of rank or women of wealth have been permitted an arrogance which was denied to both sexes among the lowly or the poor. Such a shift as this has been, it is true, a step toward the emancipation of women, but it has never been a step toward the greater freedom of the individual. A few women have shared the upper-class personality, but to balance this a great many men as well as women have been condemned to a personality characterized by subservience and fear. Such shifts as these mean only the substitution of one arbitrary standard for another. A society is equally unrealistic whether it insists that only men can be brave, or that only individuals of rank can be brave.

To break down one line of division, that between the sexes, and substitute another, that between classes, is no real advance. It merely shifts the irrelevancy to a different point. And meanwhile, individuals born in the upper classes are shaped inexorably to one type of personality, to ail arrogance that is again uncongenial to at least some of them, while the arrogant among the poor fret and fume beneath their training for submissiveness. At one end of the scale is the mild, unaggressive young son of wealthy parents who is forced to lead, at the other the aggressive, enterprising child of the slums who is condemned to a place in the ranks. If our aim is greater expression for each individual temperament, rather than any partisan interest in one sex or its fate, we must see these historical developments which have aided in freeing some women as nevertheless a kind erf development that also involved major social losses.

The second way in which categories of sex-differences have become less rigid is through a recognition of genuine individual gifts as they occurred in either sex. Here a real distinction has been substituted for an artificial one, and the

gains are tremendous for society and for the individual. Where writing is accepted as a profession that may be pursued by either sex with perfect suitability, individuals who have the ability to write need not be debarred from it by their sex, nor need they, if they do write, doubt their essential masculinity or femininity. An occupation that has no basis in sex-determined gifts can now recruit its ranks from twice as many potential artists. And it is here that we can find a ground-plan for building a society that would substitute real differences for arbitrary ones. We must recognize that beneath the superficial classifications of sex and race the same potentialities exist, recurring generation after generation, only to perish because society has no place for them Just as society now permits the practice of an art to members of either sex, so it might also permit the development of many contrasting temperamental gifts in each sex. It might abandon its various attempts to make boys fight and to make girls remain passive, or to make all children fight, and instead shape our educational institutions to develop to the full the boy who shows a capacity for maternal behavior, the girl who shows an opposite capacity that is stimulated by fighting against obstacles. No skill, no special aptitude, no vividness of imagination or precision of thinking would go unrecognized because the child who possessed it was of one sex rather than the other. No child would be relentlessly shaped to one pattern of behavior, but instead there should be many patterns, in a world that had learned to allow to each individual the pattern which was most congenial to his gifts.

Such a civilization would not sacrifice the gains of thousands of years during which society has built up standards of diversity. The social gains would be conserved, and each child would be encouraged* on the basis of his actual temperament. Where we now have patterns of behavior for women and patterns of behavior for men, we would then have patterns of behavior that expressed the interests of individuals with many kinds of endowment. There would be ethical codes and social symbolisms, an art and a way of lrfe, congenial to each endowment.

Historically our own culture has relied for the creation of rich and contrasting values upon many artificial distinctions, the most striking of which is sex. It will not be by the mere abolition of these distinctions that society will de-

"velop patterns in which individual gifts are given place instead of being forced into an ill-fitting mould. If we are to achieve a richer culture, rich in contrasting values, we must recognize the whole gamut of human potentialities, and so weave a less arbitrary social fabric, one in which each diverse human gift will find a fitting place.

"Facts and Myths" from The Second Sex

SIMONE de BEAUVOIR

The evolution of woman's condition was not a continuous process. When the great invasions came, all civilization was again called in question. Roman law itself came under the influence of a new ideology, Christianity; and in the following centuries the barbarians succeeded in imposing their laws. The economic, social, and political situation was turned upside down: that of woman felt the repercussion.

Christian ideology has contributed no little to the oppression of woman. Doubtless there is in the Gospel a breath of charity that extends to women as to lepers; and it was, to be sure, humble folk, slaves, and women who clung most passionately to the new law. In early Christian times women were treated with relative honor when they submitted themselves to the yoke of the Church; they bore witness as martyrs side by side with men. But they could take only a secondary place as participants in worship; the "deaconesses" were authorized to carry out only such lay tasks as caring for the sick and aiding the poor. And if marriage was held to be an institution demanding mutual fidelity, it seemed obvious that the wife should be totally subordinated to her husband: through St. Paul the Jewish tradition, savagely antifeminist, was affirmed.

St. Paul enjoined self-effacement and discretion upon women; he based the subordination of woman to man upon both the Old and the New Testaments. "For the man is not

of the woman; but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman; but the woman for the man." And in another place: "For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church. . . . Therefore as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in everything." In a religion that holds the flesh accursed, woman becomes the devil's most fearsome temptation. Tertullian writes: "Woman, you are the devil's doorway. You have led astray one whom the devil would not dare attack directly. It is your fault that the Son of God had to die; you should always go in mourning and in rags." St. Ambrose: "Adam was led to sin by Eve and not Eve by Adam. It is just and right that woman accept as lord and master him whom she led to sin." And St. John Chrysostom: "Among all savage beasts none is found so harmful as woman." When the canon law was set up in the fourth century, marriage was viewed as a concession to human frailty, something incompatible with Christian perfection. "Let us take ax in hand and cut off at its roots the fruitless tree of marriage," wrote St. Jerome. From the time of Gregory VI, when celibacy was imposed on the priesthood, the dangerous character of woman was more severely emphasized: all the Fathers of the Church proclaimed her abjectly evil nature. St. Thomas was true to this tradition when he declared that woman is only an "occasional" and incomplete being, a kind of imperfect man. "Man is above woman, as Christ is above man," he writes. "It is unchangeable that woman is destined to live under man's influence, and has no authority from her lord." Moreover, the canon law admitted no other matrimonial regime than the dowry scheme, which made woman legally incompetent and powerless. Not only did the masculine occupations remain closed to her, but she was forbidden to make depositions in court, and her testimony was not recognized as having weight. The emperors were affected to some extent by the influence of the Church Fathers. Justinian's legislation honored woman as wife and mother, but held her subservient to these functions; it was not to her sex but to her situation within the family that she owed her legal incompetence. Divorce was forbidden and marriage was required to be performed in public. The mother's authority over her children was equal to the father's, and she had the same rights in their inheritances; if her husband

died she became their legal guardian. The Velleian act of* the Senate was modified so that in future a woman could make contracts for the benefit of a third party; but she could not contract for her husband; her dowry became inalienable— it was the patrimony of the children and she was forbidden to dispose of it.

These laws came into contact with Germanic traditions in the territories occupied by the barbarians. In peacetime the Germans had no chieftain, the family being an independent society in which woman was completely under male domination, though she was respected and had some rights. Marriage was monogamous, and adultery was severely punished. In wartime the wife followed her husband into battle, sharing his lot in life and death, as Tacitus reports. Woman's inferiority was due to physical weakness and was not moral, and since women could act as priestesses and prophetesses, they may have been better educated than the men.

These traditions were continued into the Middle Ages, woman being in a state of absolute dependence on father and husband. The Franks did not maintain the Germanic chastity: polygamy was practiced; woman was married without her consent, and put away at her husband's caprice; and she was treated as a servant. The laws gave her strong protection from injury and insult, but only as man's property and mother of his children. As the State became powerful, the same changes occurred as in Rome: guardianship became a public charge, protecting woman, but also continuing her enslavement.

When feudalism emerged from the convulsions of the early Middle Ages, woman's position seems to have been most uncertain. Feudalism involved confusion of authority between sovereignty and property, between public and private rights and powers. This explains why woman was alternately elevated and abased under this regime. At first she had no private rights because she had no political power, and this was because the social order up to the eleventh century was founded on might alone, and the fief was property held by military force, a power not wielded by woman. Later, woman could inherit in the absence of male heirs; but her husband was guardian and exercised control over the fief and its income; she was a part of the fief, by no means emancipated. ,

The domain was no longer a family affair, as in the time

of the Roman gens: it belonged to the suzerain; and woman also. He chose her husband, and her children belonged to him rather than to her husband, being destined to become vassals who would protect his wealth. Thus she was slave of the domain and of the master of this domain through the "protection" of a husband imposed upon her: there have been few periods in which her lot was harder. An heiress—that meant land and a castle. At twelve or less she might be given in marriage to some baron. But more marriages meant more property, so annulments were frequent, hypocritically authorized by the Church. Pretexts were easily found in the rules against marriage between persons related in even remote degree and not necessarily by blood. Many women of the eleventh century had been thus repudiated four or five times.

If widowed, woman was expected to accept at once a new master. In the chansons de geste we see Charlemagne marrying in a group all the widows of his barons killed in Spain; and many epic poems tell of king or baron disposing tyrannically of girls and widows. Wives were beaten, chastised, dragged by the hair. The knight was not interested in women; his horse seemed much more valuable to him. In the chansons de geste young women always made the advances, but once they were married, a one-sided fidelity was demanded of them. Girls were brought up rudely, with rough physical exercises and without modesty or much education. When grown up, they hunted wild beasts, made difficult pilgrimages, defended the fief when the master was abroad. Some of these chatelaines were avaricious, perfidious, cruel, tyrannical, like the men; grim tales of their violence have come down to us. But all such were exceptions; ordinarily the chatelaine passed her days in spinning, saying her prayers, waiting on her husband, and dying of boredom.

The "knightly love" appearing in the Midi in the twelfth century may have softened woman's lot a little, whether it arose from the relations between the lady and her young vassals or from the cult of the Virgin or from the love of God in general. There is doubt that the courts of love ever really existed, but it is sure that the Church exalted the cult of the mother of the Redeemer to such a degree that we can say that in the thirteenth century God had been made woman. And the life of ease of noble dames permitted con-

versation, polite manners, and poetry to flourish. Learned women, such as Eleanor of Aquitaine and Blanche of Navarre, supported poets, and a widespread cultural flowering lent to woman a new prestige. Knightly love has often been regarded as platonic; but the truth is that the feudal husband was guardian and tyrant, and the wife sought an extramarital lover; knightly love was a compensation for the barbarism of the official mores. As Engels remarks: "Lovjs, in the modern sense of the word, appeared in antiquity only outside the bounds of official society. The point where antiquity stopped in its search for sexual love is just where the Middle Ages started: adultery." And that is indeed the form that love will assume as long as the institution of marriage lasts.

But it was not knightly love nor was it religion or poetry but quite other causes that enabled woman to gain some ground as feudalism came to an end. As royal power increased, the feudal lord gradually lost much of his authority, including that of deciding vassal marriages, and the right to use the wealth of his wards. When the fief contributed money instead of military service to the crown, it became a mere patrimony and there was no longer any reason why the two sexes should not be treated on a footing of equality. In France the unmarried or widowed woman had all the rights of man; as proprietor of a fief, she administered justice, signed treaties, decreed laws. She even played a military role, commanding troops and joining combat: there were female soldiers before Joan of Arc, and if the Maid caused astonishment, she did not scandalize.

So many factors combine against Woman's independence, however, that they never seem to have been all abolished at once. Physical weakness no longer counted, but in the case of married women subordination remained useful to society. Hence marital authority survived the passing of feudalism. We see the same paradox that exists today: the woman who is most fully integrated in society has the fewest privileges. Under civil feudalism marriage remained as it was under military feudalism: the husband was still his wife's guardian. When the bourgeoisie arose, it followed the same laws; the girl and the widow have the rights of man; but in marriage woman was a ward, to be beaten, her conduct watched over in detail, and her fortune used at will. The interests of property require among nobility and bour-

geoisie that a single administrator take charge. This could be a single woman; her abilities were admitted; but from feudal times to our days the married woman has been deliberately sacrificed to private property. The richer the husband, the greater the dependence of the wife; the more powerful he feels socially and economically, the more authoritatively he plays the paterfamilias. On the contrary, a common poverty makes the conjugal tie a reciprocal tie. Neither feudalism nor the Church freed woman. It was rather in emerging from serfdom that the passage from the patriarchal to the truly conjugal family was accomplished. The serf and his wife owned nothing; they had the use of house and furnishings, but that was no reason for the man to try to be master of a wife without wealth. On the contrary, common interests brought them together and raised the wife to the rank of companion. When serfdom was abolished, poverty remained; husband and wife lived on a footing of equality in small rural communities and among the workers; in free labor woman found real autonomy because she played an economic and social part of real importance. In the comedies and fables of the Middle Ages is •reflected a society of workers, small merchants, and peasants in which the husband had no advantages over his wife except the strength to beat her; but she opposed guile to force, and the pair thus lived in equality. Meanwhile the rich woman paid with her subjection for her idleness.

Woman still retained a few privileges in the Middle Ages, but in the sixteenth century were codified the laws that lasted all through the Old Regime; the feudal mores were gone and nothing protected woman from man's wish to chain her to the hearth. The code denied woman access to "masculine" positions, deprived her of all civil capacities, kept her, while unmarried, under the guardianship of her father, who sent her into a convent if she failed to marry later, and if she did marry put her and her property and children completely under her husband's authority. He was held responsible for her debts and conduct, and she had little direct relation with public authorities or persons who were strangers to her family. She seemed in work and in motherhood more a servant than an associate: the objects, the values, the beings she created were not her own wealth but belonged to the family, therefore to the man who was

its head. In other countries woman was no better off: her political rights were none and the mores were severe. All the European legal codes were erected on a basis of canon law, Roman law, and Germanic law—all unfavorable to woman. Every country had private property and the family and was regulated according to the demands of these institutions.

In all these countries one of the results of the "honest woman's" enslavement to the family was the existence of prostitution. Maintained hypocritically on the fringes of society, the prostitutes played a most important part in it. Christianity poured out its scorn upon them, but accepted them as a necessary evil. Both St. Augustine and St. Thomas asserted that the suppression of prostitution would mean the disruption of society by debauch: "Prostitutes are to a city what sewers are to a palace." In the early Middle Ages the mores were so licentious that whores were hardly needed; but when the bourgeois family was established and rigorous monogamy became the rule, a man had to look for pleasure outside the home.

Against prostitution the efforts of Charlemagne, and later those of Charles IX in France, and those of Maria Theresa in Austria in the eighteenth century1 were all alike failures. The organization of society made prostitution necessary. As Schopenhauer was to put it pompously: "Prostitutes are human sacrifices on the altar of monogamy." Lecky, historian of European morals, formulated the same idea somewhat differently: "Supreme type of vice, they are the greatest guardians of virtue." The usury of the Jews and the extraconjugal sexuality of the prostitutes were alike denounced by Church and State; but society could not get along without financial speculation and extramarital love; these functions were therefore assigned to wretched castes, segregated in ghettos or in restricted quarters. The prostitutes like the Jews were obliged to wear distinctive signs on their clothing; they were helpless against the police; for most, life was difficult. But many prostitutes were free; some made a good living. As in the time of the Greek

1 Casanova writes with amusing asperity about the efforts of the Empress Maria Theresa to advance morality by legislation and cites the thieving activities of "a legion of vile spies . . . the Commissaries of Chastity." (Memoirs,Vol. III.)—Tr.

hetairas, the high life of gallantry offered more opportunities to feminine individualism than did the life of the "honest woman."

In France the single woman occupied a peculiar position; her independence was in startling contrast to the bondage of the wife; she was a remarkable personage. But then the mores deprived her of all that the law had bestowed; she possessed all civil rights—but these were abstract and empty; she enjoyed neither economic autonomy nor social dignity; generally the old maid spent her life in the shadow of her father's family or joined others like her within the convents, where she scarcely knew any other form of liberty than disobedience and sin—just as the Roman women of the decadence found freedom only through vice. Negation was still the lot of women, since their emancipation remained negative.

In such conditions it was obviously rare for a woman to be able to act or simply to make her presence felt. In the working classes economic oppression nullified the inequality of the sexes, but it deprived the individual of all opportunity; among the nobility and the bourgeoisie the female sex as such was browbeaten: women had only a parasitic existence; she had little education; only under exceptional circumstances could she envisage and carry out any concrete project. Queens and regents had this rare pleasure: their sovereignty lifted them above their sex. In France the Salic law forbade women to succeed to the throne; but beside their husbands, or after their death, they sometimes played a great role, as did, for example, St. Clotilda, St. Radegonde, and Blanche of Castile. Living in a convent made woman independent of man: certain abbesses wielded great power; HeloTse gained fame as an abbess as much as for her love. From the mystical relation that bound them to God, feminine souls drew all the inspiration and the strength of a male soul; and the respect paid them by society enabled them to accomplish difficult enterprises. Joan of Arc's adventure had in it something of the miraculous, and besides it was only a brief escapade. But the story of St. Catherine of Siena is significant; in the midst of a quite normal existence she created in Siena a great reputation by her active benevolence and by the visions that testified to her intense inner life; thus she acquired the authority necessary for success, which women usually lack. Appeal was made to

her influence in exhorting those condemned to death, in bringing back wanderers, and in allaying quarrels between families and cities. She had the support of a society that recognized itself in her, and thus it was that she could fulfill her mission of pacification, preaching from city to city submission to the Pope, keeping up extensive correspondence with bishops and rulers, and in the end being chosen by Florence as ambassadress to go to seek out the Pope in Avignon. Queens by divine right, and saints by their dazzling virtues were assured a social support that enabled them to act on an equality with men. From other women, in contrast, only a modest silence was called for.

On the whole, men in the Middle Ages held a rather unfavorable opinion of women. The court poets, to be sure, exalted love; in the Roman de la Rose young men were urged to devote themselves to the service of the ladies. But opposed to this literature (inspired by that of the troubadours) were the writings of bourgeois inspiration, which attacked women with malignancy: fables, comedies, and lays charged them with laziness, coquetry, and lewdness. Their worst enemies were the clerics, who laid the blame on marriage. The Church had made it a sacrament and yet had forbidden it to the Christian elite: there lay a contradiction which was at the source of the "quarrel of women." Various clerics wrote "lamentations" and diatribes about woman's failings, the martyrdom of man in marriage, and so on; and their opponents tried to prove woman's superiority. This quarrel went on through the fifteenth century, until for the first time we see a woman take up her pen in defense of her sex when Christine de Pisan made a lively attack on the clerics in her Epitre au Dieu d'Amour. Later she maintained that if little girls were as well taught, they would "understand the subtleties of all the arts and sciences" as well as boys. The truth of the matter was that this dispute concerned women only indirectly. No one dreamed of demanding for them a social role different from the one they had. It was rather a matter of contrasting the life of the cleric with the married state; that is to say, it was a male problem raised by the Church's ambiguous attitude in regard to marriage. This conflict Luther solved by refusing to accept the celibacy of priests. The situation of woman was not affected by that literary war; the "quarrel" was a secondary phenomenon reflecting social attitudes but not changing them.

Woman's legal status remained almost unchanged from the beginning of the fifteenth century to the nineteenth, but in the privileged classes her actual situation did improve. The Italian Renaissance was an individualistic epoch favorable for the emergence of strong personalities, regardless of sex. Women were powerful sovereigns, military fighters and leaders, artists, writers, and musicians. Most of these women of distinction were courtesans, free in spirit, manners, and finances, and their crimes and orgies are legendary. In later centuries the same license marked those women of rank or fortune who could escape the harsh common morality of the times. Apart from queens—Catherine de Medici, Elizabeth, Isabella—and such saints as Theresa and Catherine, who showed what women could achieve under favorable circumstances, the positive accomplishments of women were few, for education and other advantages were largely denied them through the sixteenth century.

In the seventeenth century women of leisure applied themselves to arts and letters, playing an important part in the salons as culture spread in higher social levels. In France Mme de Rambouillet, Mme de Sevigne, and others enjoyed vast renown, and elsewhere Queen Christine, Mile de Schurman, and others were similarly celebrated. Through such qualities and prestige, women of rank or reputation began to penetrate into the world of men, finally showing in the person of Mme de Maintenon how great an influence can be exerted in affairs of state by an adroit woman, working behind the scenes. And a few personalities escaped from the bourgeois repression to make their mark in the world; a hitherto unknown species appeared: the actress. The first woman was seen on the stage in 1545. Even at the beginning of the seventeenth century most actresses were actors' wives, but later they became independent in career as in private life. The courtesan attained her most accomplished incarnation of Ninon de Lenclos, who carried her independence and liberty to the highest extreme then permitted to a woman.

In the eighteenth century woman's freedom continued to increase. The mores were still strict: the young girl got only a sketchy education; and she was married off or sent into a convent without being consulted. The rising middle class imposed a strict morality upon wives. But women of the world led extremely licentious lives, and the upper middle class was contaminated by such examples; neither the con-

vent nor the home could contain woman. Once again, for the majority this liberty remained abstract and negative: there was little more than the search for pleasure. But the intelligent and ambitious created opportunities. The salon took on new splendor; women protected and inspired the writer and made up his public; they studied philosophy and science and set up laboratories of physics and chemistry. In politics the names of Mme de Pompadour and Mme du Barry indicate woman's power; they really controlled the State. Actresses and women of gallantry enjoyed vast renown. Thus throughout the Old Regime the cultural sphere was the one most accessible to women who attempted to do something. Yet none ever reached the heights of a Dante or a Shakespeare, a fact that is explained by the general mediocrity of their situation. Culture was never an attribute of any but the feminine elite, never of the mass; and it is often from the mass that masculine genius has arisen. Even the privileged were surrounded with obstacles, and while nothing hindered the flights of a St. Theresa or a Catherine the Great, a thousand circumstances conspired against the woman writer. In A Room of One's Own Virginia Woolf contrasts the meager and restricted life of an imaginary sister of Shakespeare with his life of learning and adventure. It was only in the eighteenth century that a middle-class woman, Mrs. Aphra Behn, a widow, earned her living by her pen like a man. Others followed her example, but even in the nineteenth century they were often obliged to hide. They did not have even "a room of their own"; that is to say, they did not enjoy that material independence which is one of the necessary conditions for inner liberty. In England, Virginia Woolf remarks, women writers have always aroused hostility.

In France things were somewhat more favorable, because of the alliance between the social and the intellectual life, but, in general, opinion was hostile to "bluestockings." From the Renaissance on, women of rank and of wit, with Erasmus and other men, wrote in defense of women. Marguerite of Navarre did most for the cause, proposing, in opposition to licentious mores, an ideal of sentimental mysticism and of chastity without prudery that would reconcile marriage with love for the honor and happiness of women. The enemies of woman were not silent, of course. They revived the old arguments of the Middle Ages, and published

Alphabets with a fault of woman for every letter. A libertine literature—Cabinet Satyrique and the like—arose to attack feminine follies, while the religious cited St. Paul, the Church Fathers, and Ecclesiastes for woman's disparagement.

The very successes of women aroused new attacks against them: the affected women, called precieuses alienated public opinion; the Precieuses ridicules and Femmes savantes were applauded, though Moliere was no enemy of women: he sharply attacked enforced marriage, demanding freedom of sentiment for the young girl and respect and independence for the wife. Bossuet preached against women, and Boileau wrote satires, arousing fiery defenders of the sex. Poulain de la Barre, the leading feminist of the time, published in 1673 De Vegalite de deux sexes. Men, he thought, used their superior strength to favor their own sex, and women acquiesced by habit in their dependence. They had never had a fair chance—neither liberty nor education. Thus they could not be judged by past performance, he argued, and nothing indicated that they were inferior to men. He demanded real education for women.

The eighteenth century was also divided in the matter. Some writers tried to prove that woman had no immortal soul. Rousseau dedicated woman to husband and to maternity, thus speaking for the middle class. "Women's entire education should be relative to men," he said; ". . . woman was made to yield to man and to put up with his injustice." The democratic and individualist ideal of the eighteenth century, however, was favorable to women; to most philosophers they seemed to be human beings equal to those belonging to the stronger sex. Voltaire denounced the injustice of woman's lot. Diderot felt that her inferiority had been largely made by society. Montesquieu believed paradoxically that "it is against reason and nature that women be in control of the home . . . not at all that they govern an empire." Helvetius showed that the absurdity of woman's education is what creates the inferiority of woman. But it was Mercier who almost alone, in his Tableau de Paris, waxed indignant at the misery of working women and thus opened the fundamental question of feminine labor. Condorcet wanted women to enter political life, considering them equal to man if equally educated. "The more women have been enslaved by the laws," he said, "the more dan-

gerous has been their empire. ... It would decline if it were less to women's interest to maintain it, if it ceased to be their sole means of defending themselves and escaping from oppression."

Sex and Semantics

EVE MERRIAM

Let the unbiased beware, for the bias of language is all about us. Even in the simple names of husband and wife.

It was, in the mathematical sense, elegant that so long as one sex was subordinate to the other in society this relationship should be expressed in language as well as iii other ways. The word "husband," taken from Middle English, meant the "master of the house." A secondary meaning was a "tree supporting a vine." The words "wife" and "woman" were originally one and the same, used interchangeably, both deriving from "man": this order the reverse of biological nature, to be sure, yet straightforward in describing social position.

According to one linguistic theory, "woman" was a slurring of the word "womb-man." Now if there was anything a man did not have, it was a womb; by calling the person who had one a "womb-man," it suggested that here was a peculiar kind of man. As well might fish, if they had been the dominant constructors of language along with other public matters, have designated all birds as "sky-fish" and animals as "land-fish."

Another notion allowed that the word was actually spelled "woeman," and by accenting the first syllable, arrived at a clear pronouncement of what her presence ensued.

The third and most prevalent theory is that "woman" is a corfuption of the old Anglo-Saxon "wif-mann"; "wif" meant "joining or weaving," and the word indicated not

so much that she was joined to man in firm-woven bonds of mutual humanity, but that weaving was her homespun occupation.

Man and woman: the one creature taken for the norm, and the other a departure from that norm, as nonwhite and non-Aryan are lesser breeds. This was one form of asserting male dominance, to assign the female to her place as a nonman and so to set her aside.

The other was to cause her to disappear from the central scene by incorporating her, much in the manner of the big and little fish. Thus, at one linguistic gulp, the word "man" came to stand for both sexes.

Is it unreasonable to hypothesize that in some small part women have been less intellectual and less concerned with conditions of state, nation, world, and universe because they didn't appreciate that they were included in mankind ... the brotherhood of man . . . man as the measure of all things . . . man as a rational creature?

One discovery of recent years in the field of education has been that many children are slow readers because they cannot identify with the situations shown in their textbooks. Look at Alice. Look at Jerry. Look at their middle-class suburban house set back on the white Protestant lawn. The child coming to school from a crowded tenement may pick out the individual words in the reader, but can scarcely relate them to his everyday life. Only now is the concept of new vocabulary lists and intercultural illustrations beginning to be introduced so that the non-Alices and the non-Jerrys can participate, too.

Women are still excluded from man-made language. It is not done deliberately; there is no Exclusive Clientele policy pursued, as was the case when our founding fathers set forth that all men are created equal and intended the word "man" to represent white American males only. Today's exclusions are not so much political as unthinking. We simply take certain things for granted, among them the fact that the word "man" represents "woman" as well. Consider this passage, written to explore the human condition and not merely the male half. It is from a paper by Jerome Bruner, professor of psychology at Harvard, in the Journal of the American Academy of Arts and ftciences.

Read it through twice, if you will, first as a man, then as a woman.

Our concern is with conceptions of man, with the forces and ideas that have given shape to our contemporary image of man. I need not insist upon the social, ethical and political significance of this image, for it is patent that the view one takes of man affects profoundly one's standards of the humanly possible. And it is in the light of such a standard that we establish our laws, set forth situations for learning, and judge the fitness of men's acts. It is no surprise, then, that those who govern must perforce be jealous guardians of man's ideas about man, for the structure of government rests upon an uneasy consensus about human nature and human wants. The idea of man is that of the order of res publica, and by virtue of its public status the idea is not subject to change without public debate. The "behavioral scientist," as some people nowadays insist upon calling him, may propose, but society at large disposes. Nor is the idea of man simply a matter of public concern. For man as an individual has a deep and emotional investment in his image of himself. If we have learned anything in the last half-century of psychology, it is that man has powerful and exquisite capacities for defending himself against violations of his cherished self-image.

A second reading of the passage will lead to underscoring certain phrases: conceptions of man . . . image of man . . . the view one takes of man . . . men's acts ... man's ideas about man . . . the idea of man . . . man as an individual ... man has powerful and exquisite capacities ... Selah.

The subject matter is undoubtedly two-sexed, yet there are fourteen references in the paragraph to man, men, his, him, himself, and not one remark addressed to the feminine gender. Reading this as a woman, one finds unintentional ironic overtones in the last sentence. Man indeed has "powerful and exquisite capacities for defending himself against violations of his cherished self-image." Not the least of these capacities is our male-oriented language.

Now that Nora has slammed the door, is it not time for our vocabulary to reflect that change? Space-age words are adopted into our speech; slang is given not merely currency but cachet in new dictionary editions. The old folkways of male supremacist language persist unaltered. It is anachronistic for woman to go on being subsumed under man. More than anachronistic, it is inhibiting and reactionary; such language patterns help hold women back from their full share in the world's activities, since they are still written about and spoken of as either nonmen or a subheading under the main billing (when we say men, we mean women, too).

But what words can we use that will not be cumbersome? Agreed that it would be awkward to speak of the brotherhood and sisterhood of man and woman; pedestrian to rewrite the lofty question into what is man and what is woman that Thou art mindful of him and her.

We might begin by substituting the already available phj*ase "the human race" for "mankind." We could even be more accurate in doing so, since man (this includes woman) is not always kind to his (this includes her) fellow (this includes female) creature. We could also invent words, as the technological world does almost daily. Perhaps try variations on a base: for the words "man," "woman" and both the sexes we might coin "manu," "mana," mano." Or, we could use something other than a combination of existing phrases. We have become accustomed to the use of symbols in mathematics and scientific formulae. I am not proposing that we employ numbers; the use of digits has already gone too far in dehumanizing our communication with one another. A pictograph, however, would provide a perfectly feasible solution. Since, as Nora pursues her course of emancipation, the basic difference between the sexes that will endure is the biological one, we might draw a straight line for a man, a circle for a woman, and when we wanted to express both, our pictograph would show a circle with a line bisecting it. One may well argue that this is not a satisfactory solution, but to dismiss the motion by quoting "What's in a name? A rose by any other—" is to avoid the issue.

It has long been fashionable to laugh at Lucy Stone, to portray her as a misguided feminist (read "fool") cracking an almond shell with a heavy hammer. She should have

expended her driving energy on something weightier than a campaign to retain a woman's maiden name after marriage. What a ridiculously creampuff cause! Who cared what a woman was called? The important thing was to grant her some fundamental rights in mid-nineteenth century America: to permit her to have custody of her own children, to permit her to retain her own wages, to grant her the right to vote instead of consigning her perpetually with the mentally feeble and children.

Yes, yes, and yes, agreed Lucy, and along with all these rights the right to keep her own name when she married. Stubborn Lucy, pressing her fool's cause. And stubborn Henry Blackwell, her husband, who braved flying bricks and epithets of "Aunt Nancy" to align himself with her campaign. "I stand for the abolition of slavery and the rights of women," he declared. "Why should women's cause be advocated by women only? I owe no apology for standing on this platform. I am the son of a woman and the brother of women." His wife would continue to sign her name Lucy Stone, and not Mrs. Henry Blackwell. So the couple became known as a famous pair of cranks, taken for laughingstocks wherever they espoused their cause.

If the Stone-Blackweil campaign was crackpot in its day, how much more ludicrous in ours when we have had so clearly demonstrated to us that retaining a woman's name is not a prerequisite for attaining her rights. Today one of the dominant features of our social landscape is that so many men have wives with minds and pay envelopes of their own. These wives can write out checks and do not have to beg money to pay the butcher from the master of the house (husband). Nor do they have to be clinging vines wrapped around the supporting tree (husband). What matter if they still go by the name of Mrs. Himself? They are independent women.

Are they entirely? Let us reflect a moment: did Lucy Stone and Henry Blackwell make a mountainous fuss over a molehill, or do we belittle something that is not such a small thing after all? Surely a name is an identification, and by surrendering it we have given something up. The first step a person who is abandoning the past takes—whether for good or bad reasons—is to assume a pseudonym; what has gone before has to be concealed, buried.

The search for identity for modern wives goes on. The

questions continue to be posed, and the answers still are missing. Of course a wifely identity accretes inside marriage, but is the growth of the woman not thwarted—not much, perhaps, but a little—by being identified as Mrs. Henry Blackwell? Whatever happened to that Lucy Stone girl?

She has become her husband's second. He is the principal source of light and she is reflected thereby. Back again to the word "woman" indistinguishable from wife; to the word "husband" as the master of the house, the tree supporting the vine; to woman as womb-man, woe-man, wif-mann, nonman; to the subsuming of her personality under the .main heading of man (this stands for woman as well).

But, the reader may object, this is old-fashioned feminist hellfire and not applicable to today's emancipated scene. Taking on a husband's name in our time is merely a matter of convenience for record-keeping, nothing more. It is simpler for a couple to be known as Mr. and Mrs. H. B.—to introduce them at a social gathering as the Blackwells. It no longer carries—if it ever did—a freight of social and economic significance.

If, however, a wife's taking on her husband's name is a matter solely of semantics, why, when the situation is reversed, does it assume so sharp and unpleasant a connotation? The reader will surely not deny that it is considered a mark of humiliation for a man to be known as "the husband of so-and-so." A number of men are married to outstanding professional women, and their friends-—both male and female, following the mores of our social structure—either pity such men or mock them. Poor chap, letting himself be taken over like that, letting his wife practically castrate him: his potency, his entire male ego are considered to be demeaned. By mere phraseology, simply by being introduced as "the husband of her" rather than as a man in his own right? Yes. And rightly so, for he is changed by the change of name into an appendage. He is no longer a principal body.

Why is it less humiliating for women? Because, the standard argument runs, it has always been traditional for her to assume his name. Quite so, but let us complete the sentence. It has always been traditional for her to assume his name in male-dominated societies. I am not proposing

that we revive the Lucy Stone League. We could, however, adopt as a general custom the intertwining of names, a custom that is practiced to some extent in Latin and Teutonic countries, and practiced in occasional English-speaking instances where large fortunes have been mingled at marriage. What larger fortune than the linking of two lives?

Lucy Blackwell-Stone does not take longer to say and is not more difficult to pronounce than Mrs. Henry Blackwell. The adding, rather than the subtracting, of a name might even be a plus factor in the search for woman's identity that haunts us today.

That lack of feminine identity is always a topic included in the many discussions of higher education for women. Will it help her to discover her identity if she goes to a sex-segregated college, or should all women's campuses turn coeducational? How will it affect her realization of femininity if she takes more courses in physics, mathematics, engineering, and other subjects formerly counted as the male province? In all these discussions, history is never considered to be an especially male-oriented subject, and yet the way it is taught, it is glaringly so. It is not that the role of women in history is maligned: it is simply omitted. The bias lies in the blanking out.

There is, I suppose, a graceful and rhythmic correspondence to reality in this method. If a woman is going to blank out her name and her personal past when she marries, why should she be encouraged to study other women's names and their singular accomplishments? The illustrious women who are not in our American history books would fill many volumes. In fact, one such woman wrote a comprehensive history of the American Revolution shortly after the events took place. In addition to her work as a historian, she was also well known as a poet and a witty playwright. Who could that be? We need more clues. Very well, more clues then. She was a courageous political liberal who never wavered during the entire illiberal period following the Revolution, even though her unpopular opinions caused her to be cut off completely from the social life she had previously enjoyed. At the same time, she went through harrowing tragedies in her private life as a wife and mother. Her name is still unfamiliar to us,

though not unfamiliar to Washington and John Adams, who both admired her greatly. Her name was Mercy Warren.

Labor history and John L. Lewis are synonymous, and deservedly so. Who was Mary Jones? Another great one for the history books, but you will not find her mentioned there. An opera, a film, a biography—all three would be needed to encompass her activities. Having lost her husband and children all in the same heartbreaking year of 1867, the widow Jones took to the usual ways of widowhood: she taught school and eked out a living as a dressmaker. Then, at the age of fifty, her life changed completely. I am saying it wrong. At the age of fifty, she changed her life completely. The widow Jones became Mother Jones with a large family on her hands. No, she did not remarry. She became a union organizer and remained so until she died at the age of ninety-three. In her widow's weeds and black bonnet, with an umbrella for a .sword, she traveled on foot from one workers' community to another, through the coal towns of Pennsylvania all the way west to the copper mines of Colorado. More than one state governor called out the militia to have her evicted. What right had she to be organizing in the mines, to be interfering with ownership ways? Who was she? Was she a resident of this state? Where was her identification? "Here," Mother Jones would reply, "right here," and she would rap the point of her umbrella against her worn and dusty shoes. "My feet are my passport; they take me where my children call for help." The miners were her children, and she organized them. The miners' wives were her children, and she organized them, too—forming a women's battalion when their men were out on strike, arming the battalion with pots and pans and mops and brooms to charge the mines and drive away the scabs. Organizing on behalf of children themselves who worked in the textile mills from dark in the morning to dark in the evening; agitating for a child labor law and seeing to it that the Pennsylvania legislature finally enacted one. Her funeral was not somber; her thousands upon thousands of children remembered her words and applied them. "Pray for the dead" was what salty old Mother Jones had taken for her motto, "and fight like hell for the living."

As Mercy Warren is not in our standard history books,

neither is Mary Jones. Nor—the names crowd for attention, but let us mention just one more. In recalling crusading journalists of the past, few writers summon up the name of Ida B. Wells, who first exposed the Ku Klux Klan to the light of day in the newspaper she edited—in the South. And Ida a Negro. When her press in Memphis was destroyed by local bullies, she strode the streets with a pistol on each hip, managed to assemble more type and brought out a new edition.

The names for a women's hall of fame afford an embarrassment of riches. The achievements of American women, when they are eventually made known, will make the continued subsuming of "woman" under the main heading of "man" a discomfiting task for future dictionary compilers.

Of course, words are not deeds, and the mere use of new symbols will not do away with sex prejudice. Merely by changing our language stultification, a woman who performs the same job as a man and yet receives less pay will not automatically be given a wage increase. Nor will the working mother who employs a housekeeper to take care of her children be allowed the tax deduction she would be granted if she were a man who had to hire a secretary. Single women will not overnight be accorded the same social status as bachelors. Nor will public child-care centers and after-school play facilities be increased without steady community pressure, the committees "manned" mainly by women. Nevertheless, the discarding of outworn language symbols may force us to think in new ways and so discover solutions to the inequities that persist in our post-emancipated age.

"Shakespeare's Sister" from A Room of One's Own

VIRGINIA WOOLF

. . . But what I find deplorable, I continued, looking about the bookshelves again, is that nothing is known about

women before the eighteenth century. I have no model in my mind to turn about this way and that. Here am I asking why women did not write poetry in the Elizabethan age, and I am not sure how they were educated; whether they were taught to write; whether they had sitting-rooms to themselves; how many women had children before they were twenty-one; what, in short, they did from eight in the morning till eight at night. They had no money evidently; according to Professor Trevelyan they were married whether they liked it or not before they were out of the nursery, at fifteen or sixteen very likely. It would have been extremely odd, even upon this showing, had one of them suddenly written the plays of Shakespeare, I concluded, and I thought of that old gentleman, who is dead now, but was a bishop, I think, who declared that it was impossible for any woman, past, present, or to come, to have the genius of Shakespeare. He wrote to the papers about it. He also told a lady who applied to him for information that cats do not as a matter of fact go to heaven, though they have, he added, souls of a sort. How much thinking those old gentlemen used to save one! How the borders of ignorance shrank back at their approach! Cats do not go to heaven. Women cannot write the plays of Shakespeare.

Be that as it may, I could not help thinking, as I looked at the works of Shakespeare on the shelf, that the bishop was right at least in this; it would have been impossible, completely and entirely, for any woman to have written the plays of Shakespeare in the age of Shakespeare. Let me imagine, since facts are so hard to come by, what would have happened had Shakespeare had a wonderfully gifted sister, called Judith, let us say. Shakespeare himself went, very probably—his mother was an heiress—to the grammar school, where he may have learned Latin—Ovid,. Virgil and Horace—and the elements of grammar and logic. He was, it is well known, a wild boy who poached rabbits, perhaps shot a deer, and had, rather sooner than he should have done, to marry a woman in the neighborhood, who bore him a child rather quicker than was right. That escapade sent him to seek his fortune in London. He had, it seemed, a taste for the theatre; he began by holding horses at the stage door. Very soon he got work in the theatre, became a successful actor, and lived at the hub of

the universe, meeting everybody, knowing everybody, practicing his art on the boards, exercising his wits in the streets, and even getting access to the palace of the queen. Meanwhile his extraordinarily gifted sister, let us suppose, remained at home. She was as adventurous, as imaginative, as agog to see the world as he was. But she was not sent to school. She had no chance of learning grammar and logic, let alone of reading Horace and Virgil. She picked up a book now and then, one of her brother's perhaps, and read a few pages. But then her parents came in and told her to mend the stockings or mind the stew and not moon about with books and papers. They would have spoken sharply but kindly, for they were substantial people who knew the conditions of life for a woman and loved their daughter—indeed, more likely than not she was the apple of her father's eye. Perhaps she scribbled some pages up in an apple loft on the sly, but was careful to hide them or set fire to them. Soon, however, before she was out of her teens, she was to be betrothed to the son of a neighboring wool-stapler. She cried out that marriage was hateful to her, and for that she was severely beaten by her father. Then he ceased to scold her. He begged her instead not to hurt him, not to shame him in this matter of her marriage. He would give her a chain of beads or a fine petticoat, he said; and there were tears in his eyes. How could she disobey him? How could she break his heart? The force of her own gift alone drove her to it. She made up a small parcel of her belongings, let herself down by a rope one summer's night and took the road to London. She was not seventeen. The birds that sang in the hedge were not more musical than she was. She had the quickest fancy, a gift like her brother's, for the tune of words. Like him, she had a taste for the theatre. She stood at the stage door; she wanted to act, she said. Men laughed in her face. The manager—a fat, loose-lipped man—guffawed. He bellowed something about poodles dancing and women acting—no woman, he said, could possibly be an actress. He hinted—you can imagine what. She could get no training in her craft. Could she even seek her dinner in a tavern or roam the streets at midnight? Yet her genius was for fiction and lusted to feed abundantly upon the lives of men and women and the study of their ways. At last—for she was very young, oddly like Shakespeare the poet in her face, with the same gray eyes and

rounded brows—at last Nick Greene the actor-manager took pity on her; she found herself with child by that gentleman and so—who shall measure the heat and violence of the poet's heart when caught and tangled in a woman's body?—killed herself one winter's night and lies buried at some crossroads where the omnibuses now stop outside the Elephant and Castle.

That, more or less, is how the story would run, I think, if a woman in Shakespeare's day had had Shakespeare's genius. But for my part, I agree with the deceased bishop, if such he was—it is unthinkable that any woman in Shakespeare's day should have had Shakespeare's genius. For genius like Shakespeare's is not born among laboring, uneducated, servile people. It was not born in England among the Saxons and the Britons. It is not born today among the working classes. How, then, could it have been born among women whose work began, according to Professor Trevelyan, almost before they were out of the nursery, who were forced to it by their parents and held to it by all the power of law and custom? Yet genius of a sort must have existed among women as it must have existed among the working classes. Now and again an Emily Bronte or a Robert Burns blazes out and proves its presence. But certainly it never got itself on to paper. When, however, one reads of a witch being ducked, of a woman possessed by devils, of a wise woman selling herbs, or even of a very remarkable man who had a mother, then I think we are on the track of a lost novelist, a suppressed poet, of some mute and inglorious Jane Austen, some Emily Bronte who dashed her brains out on the moor or mopped and mowed about the highways crazed with the torture that her gift had put her to. Indeed, I would venture to guess that Anon, who wrote so many poems without signing them, was often a woman. It was a woman Edward Fitzgerald, I think, suggested who made the ballads and the folk songs, crooning them to her children, beguiling her spinning with them, or the length of the winter's night.

This may be true or it may be false—who can say?—but what is true in it, so it seemed to me, reviewing the story of Shakespeare's sister as I had made it, is that any woman born with a great gift in the sixteenth century would certainly have gone crazed, shot herself, or ended her days in some lonely cottage outside the village, half witch, half

wizard, feared and mocked at. For it needs little skill in psychology to be sure that a highly gifted girl who had tried to use her gift for poetry would have been so thwarted and hindered by other people, so tortured and pulled asunder by her own contrary instincts, that she must have lost her health and sanity to a certainty. No girl could have walked to London and stood at a stage door and forced her way into the presence of actor-managers without doing herself a violence and suffering an anguish which may have been irrational—for chastity may be a fetish invented by certain societies for unknown reasons—but were none the less inevitable. Chastity had then, it has even now, a religious importance in a woman's life, and has so wrapped itself round with nerves and instincts that to cut it free and bring it to the light of day demands courage of the rarest. To have lived a free life in London in the sixteenth century would have meant for a woman who was poet and playwright a nervous stress and dilemma which might well have killed her. Had she survived, whatever she had written would have been twisted and deformed, issuing from a strained and morbid imagination. And undoubtedly, I thought, looking at the shelf where there are no plays by women, her work would have gone unsigned. That refuge she would have sought certainly. It was the relic of the sense of chastity that dictated anonymity to women even so late as the nineteenth century. Currer Bell, George Eliot, George Sand, all the victims of inner strife as their writings prove, sought ineffectively to veil themselves by using the name of a man. Thus they did homage to the convention, which if not implanted by the other sex was liberally encouraged by them (the chief glory of a woman is not to be talked of, said Pericles, himself a much-talked-of man), that publicity in women is detestable. Anonymity runs in their blood. The desire to be veiled still possesses them. They are not even now as concerned about the health of their fame as men are, and, speaking generally, will pass a tombstone or a signpost without feeling an irresistible desire to cut their names on it, as Alf, Bert or Chas. must do in obedience to their instinct, which murmurs if it sees a fine woman go by, or even a dog, Ce chien est a moi. And, of course, it may not be a dog, I thought, remembering Parliament Square, the Sieges Allee and other avenues; it may be a piece of land or a man with

curly black hair. It is one of the great advantages of being a woman that one can pass even a very fine Negress without wishing to make an Englishwoman of her.

That woman, then, who was born with a gift of poetry in the sixteenth century, was an unhappy woman, a woman at strife against herself. All the conditions of her life, all her own instincts, were hostile to the state of mind which is needed to set free whatever is in the brain. But what is the state of mind that is most propitious to the act of creation? I asked. Can one come by any notion of the state that furthers and makes possible that strange activity? Here I opened the volume containing the Tragedies of Shakespeare. What was Shakespeare's state of mind, for instance, when he wrote Lear and Antony and Cleopatra? It was certainly the state of mind most favorable to poetry that there has ever existed. But Shakespeare himself said nothing about it. We only know casually and by chance that he "never blotted a line." Nothing indeed was ever said by the artist himself about his state of mind until the eighteenth century perhaps. Rousseau perhaps began it. At any rate, by the nineteenth century self-consciousness had developed so far that it was the habit for men of letters to describe their minds in confessions and autobiographies. Their lives also were written, and their letters were printed after their deaths. Thus, though we do not know what Shakespeare went through when he wrote Lear, we do know what Carlyle went through when he wrote the French Revolution; what Flaubert went through when he wrote Madame Bovary; what Keats was going through when he tried to write poetry against the coming of death and the indifference of the world.

And one gathers from this enormous modern literature of confession and self-analysis that to write a work of genius is almost always a feat of prodigious difficulty. Everything is against the likelihood that it will come from the writer's mind whole and entire. Generally material circumstances are against it. Dogs will bark; people will interrupt; money must be made; health will break down. Further, accentuating all these difficulties and making them harder to bear is the world's notorious indifference. It does not ask people to write poems and novels and histories; it does not need them. It does not care whether Flaubert finds the right word or whether Carlyle scrupulously verifies this or that fact.

Naturally, it will not pay for what it does not want. And so the writer, Keats, Flaubert, Carlyle, suffers, especially in the creative years of youth, every form of distraction and discouragement. A curse, a cry of agony, rises from those books of analysis and confession. "Mighty poets in their misery dead"—that is the burden of their song. If anything comes through in spite of all this, it is a miracle, and probably no book is born entire and uncrippled as it was conceived.

But for women, I thought, looking at the empty shelves, these difficulties were infinitely more formidable. In the first place, to have a room of her own, let alone a quiet room or a soundproof room, was out of the question, unless her parents were exceptionally rich or very noble, even up to the beginning of the nineteenth century. Since her pin money, which depended on the good will of her father, was only enough to keep her clothed, she was debarred from such alleviations as came even to Keats or Tennyson or Carlyle, all poor men, from a walking tour, a little journey to France, from the separate lodging which, even if it were miserable enough, sheltered them from the claims and tyrannies of their families. Such material difficulties were formidable; but much worse were the immaterial. The indifference of the world which Keats and Flaubert and other men of genius have found so hard to bear was in her case not indifference but hostility. The world did not say to her as it said to them, Write if you choose; it makes no difference to me. The world said with a guffaw, Write? What's the good of your writing? Here the psychologists of Newnham and Girton might come to our help, I thought, looking again at the blank spaces on the shelves. For surely it is time that the effect of discouragement upon the mind of the artist should be measured, as I have seen a dairy company measure the effect of ordinary milk and Grade A milk upon the body of the rat. They set two rats in cages side by side, and of the two one was furtive, timid and small, and the other was glossy, bold and big. Now what food do we feed women as artists upon? I asked, remembering, I suppose, that dinner of prunes and custard. To answer that question I had only to open the evening paper and to read that Lord Birkenhead is of opinion—but really I am not going to trouble to copy out Lord Birkenhead's opinion upon the writing of women. What Dean Inge says I will

leave in peace. The Harley Street specialist may be allowed to rouse the echoes of Harley Street with his vociferations without raising a hair on my head. I will quote, however, Mr. Oscar Browning, because Mr. Oscar Browning was a great figure in Cambridge at one time, and used to examine the students at Girton and Newnham. Mr. Oscar Browning was wont to declare "that the impression left on his mind, after looking over any set of examination papers, was that, irrespective of the marks he might give, the best woman was intellectually the inferior of the worst man." After saying that Mr. Browning went back to his rooms—and it is this sequel that endears him and makes him a human figure of some bulk and majesty—he went back to his rooms and found a stable-boy lying on the sofa—"a mere skeleton, his cheeks were cavernous and sallow, his teeth were black, and he did not appear to have the full use of his limbs. . . . 'That's Arthur' [said Mr. Browning]. 'He's a dear boy really and most high-minded.' " The two pictures always seem to me to complete each other. And happily in this age of biography the two pictures often do complete each other, so that we are able to interpret the opinions of great men not only by what they say, but by what they do.

But though this is possible now, such opinions coming from the lips of important people must have been formidable enough even 50 years ago. Let us suppose that a father from the highest motives did not wish his daughter to leave home and become writer, painter or scholar. "See what Mr. Oscar Browning says," he would say; and there was not only Mr. Oscar Browning; there was the Saturday Review; there was Mr. Greg—the "essentials of a woman's being," said Mr. Greg emphatically, "are that they are supported by, and they minister to, men"—there was an enormous body of masculine opinion to the effect that nothing could be expected of women intellectually. Even if her father did not read out loud these opinions, any girl could read them for herself; and the reading, even in the nineteenth century, must have lowered her vitality, and told profoundly upon her work. There would always have been that assertion—you cannot do this, you are incapable of doing that—to protest against, to overcome. Probably for a novelist this germ is no longer of much effect; for there have been women novelists of merit. But for painters

it must still have some sting in it; and for musicians, I imagine, is even now active and poisonous in the extreme. The woman composer stands where the actress stood in the time of Shakespeare. Nick Greene, I thought, remembering the story I had made about Shakespeare's sister, said that a woman acting put him in mind of a dog dancing. Johnson repeated the phrase 200 years later of women preaching. And here, I said, opening a book about music, we have the very words used again in this year of grace, 1928, of women who try to write music. "Of Mile Germaine Tailleferre one can only repeat Dr. Johnson's dictum concerning a woman preacher, transposed into terms of music. 'Sir, a woman's composing is like a dog's walking on his hind legs. It is not done well, but you are surprised to find it done at all.'"1 So accurately does history repeat itself.

Thus, I concluded, shutting Mr. Oscar Browning's life and pushing away the rest, it is fairly evident that even in the nineteenth century a woman was not encouraged to be an artist. On the contrary, she was snubbed, slapped, lectured and exhorted. Her mind must have been strained and her vitality lowered by the need of opposing this, of disproving that. For here again we come within range of that very interesting and obscure masculine complex which has had so much influence upon the woman's movement; that deep-seated desire, not so much that she shall be inferior as that he shall be superior, which plants him wherever one looks, not only in front of the arts, but barring the way to politics too, even when the risk to himself seems infinitesimal and the suppliant humble and devoted. Even Lady Bessborough, I remembered, with all her passion for politics, must humbly bow herself and write to Lord Granville Leveson-Gower: . . notwithstanding all my violence in politics and talking so much on that subject, I perfectly agree with you that no woman has any business to meddle with that or any other serious business, farther than giving her opinion (if she is ask'd) And so she goes on to spend her enthusiasm where it meets with no obstacle whatsoever upon that immensely important subject, Lord Granville's maiden speech in the House of Commons. The spectacle is certainly a strange one, I

1A Survey of Contemporary Music, Cecil Gray, p. 246.

thought. The history of men's opposition to women's emancipation is more interesting perhaps than the story of that emancipation itself. An amusing book might be made of it if some young student at Girton or Newnham would collect examples and deduce a theory—but she would need thick gloves on her hands, and bars to protect her of solid gold.

But what is amusing now, I recollected, shutting Lady Bessborough, had to be taken in desperate earnest once. Opinions that one now pastes in a book labelled cock-a-doodle-dum and keeps for reading to select audiences on summer nights once drew tears, I can assure you. Among your grandmothers and great-grandmothers there were many that wept their eyes out. Florence Nightingale shrieked aloud in her agony.2 Moreover, it is all very well for you, who have got yourselves to college and enjoy sitting-rooms—or is it only bed-sitting-rooms?—of your own to say that genius should disregard such opinions; that genius should be above caring what is said of it. Unfortunately, it is precisely the men or women of genius who mind most what is said of them. Remember Keats. Remember the words he had cut on his tombstone. Think of Tennyson; think—but I need hardly multiply instances of the undeniable, if very unfortunate, fact that it is the nature of the artist to mind excessively what is said about him. Literature is strewn with the wreckage of men who have minded beyond reason the opinions of others.

And this susceptibility of theirs is doubly unfortunate, I thought, returning again to my original enquiry into what state of mind is most propitious for creative work, because the mind of an artist, in order to achieve the prodigious effort of freeing whole and entire the work that is in him, must be incandescent, like Shakespeare's mind, I conjectured, looking at the book which lay open at Antony and Cleopatra. There must be no obstacle in it, no foreign matter unconsumed.

For though we say that we know nothing about Shakespeare's state of mind, even as we say that, we are saying something about Shakespeare's state of mind. The reason perhaps why we know so little of Shakespeare—compared

2 See Cassandra, by Florence Nightingale, printed in The Cause, by R. Strachey.

with Donne or Ben Jonson or Milton—is that his grudges and spites and antipathies are hidden from us. We are not held up by some "revelation" which reminds us of the writer. All desire to protest, to preach, to proclaim an injury, to pay off a score, to make the world the witness of some hardship or grievance was fired out of him and consumed. Therefore his poetry flows from him free and unimpeded. If ever a human being got his work expressed completely, it was Shakespeare. If ever a mind was incandescent, unimpeded, I thought, turning again to the bookcase, it was Shakespeare's mind.

Women: The Longest Revolution (excerpt)
JULIET MITCHELL

The biological differentiation of the sexes and the division of labor have, throughout history, seemed an interlocked necessity. Anatomically smaller and weaker, woman's physiology and her psychobiological metabolism appear to render her a less useful member of a work force. It is always stressed how, particularly in the early stages of social development, man's physical superiority gave him the means of conquest over nature which was denied to women. Once woman was accorded the menial tasks involved in maintenance whilst man undertook conquest and creation, she became an aspect of the things preserved: private property and children. Socialist writers on the subject—Marx, Engels, Bebel, De Beauvoir—link the confirmation and continuation of woman's oppression after the establishment of her physical inferiority for hard manual work with the advent of private property. But woman's physical weakness has never prevented her from performing work as such (quite apart from bringing up children)—only specific types of work, in specific societies. In primitive, ancient, Oriental, medieval and capitalist

societies, the volume of work performed by women has always been considerable (it has usually been much more than this). It is only its form that is in question. Domestic labor, even today, is enormous if quantified in terms of productive labor.1 In any case women's physique has never permanently or even predominately relegated them to menial domestic chores. In many peasant societies, women have worked in the fields as much as or more than men.

The assumption behind most classical discussion is that the crucial factor starting the whole development of feminine subordination was woman's lesser capacity for demanding physical work. But, in fact, this is a major oversimplification. Even within these terms, in history it has been woman's lesser capacity for violence as well as for work that has determined her subordination. In most societies woman has not only been less able than man to perform arduous kinds of work, she has also been less able to fight. Man not only has the strength to assert himself against nature, but also against his fellows. Social coercion has interplayed with the straightforward division of labor, based on biological capacity, to a much greater extent than generally admitted. Of course, it may not be actualized as direct aggression. In primitive societies women's physical unsuitability for the hunt is evident. In agricultural societies where women's inferiority is socially instituted they are given the arduous task of tilling and cultivation. For this, coercion is necessary. In developed civilizations and more complex societies woman's physical deficiencies again become relevant. Women are no use either for war or in the construction of cities. But with early industrialization

1 Apologists who make out that housework, though time-consuming, is light and relatively enjoyable, are refusing to acknowledge the dull and degrading routine it entails. Lenin commented crisply: "You all know that even when women have full rights, they still remain factually downtrodden because all housework is left to them. In most cases housework is the most unproductive, the most barbarous and the most arduous work a woman can do. It is exceptionally petty and does not include anything that would in any way promote the development of the woman" (Collected Works, xxx, 43). Today it has been calculated in Sweden that 2,340 million hours a year are spent by women in housework compared with 1,290 million hours in industry. The Chase Manhattan Bank estimated a U.S. woman's hours spent at housework at 99.6 per week.

coercion once more becomes important. As Marx wrote: "Insofar as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing laborers of slight muscular strength, and those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all the more supple. The labor of women and children was, therefore, the first thing sought for by capitalists who used machinery." 2

Rene Dumont points out that in many zones of tropical Africa today men are often idle, while women are forced to work all day.3 This exploitation has no "natural" source whatever. Women may perform their "heavy" duties in contemporary African peasant societies not for fear of physical reprisal by their men, but because these duties are "customary" and built into the role structures of the society. A further point is that coercion implies a different relationship from coercer to coerced than exploitation does. It is political rather than economic. In describing coercion, Marx said that the master treated the slave or serf as the "inorganic and natural condition of its own reproduction." That is to say, labor itself becomes like other natural things—cattle or soil: "the original conditions of production appear as natural prerequisites, natural conditions of the existence of the producer, just as his living body, however reproduced and developed by him, is not originally established by himself, but appears as his prerequisite " 4 This is preeminently woman's condition. For far from woman's physical weakness removing her from productive work, her social weakness has in these cases evidently made her the major slave of it.

This truth, elementary though it may seem, has nevertheless been constantly ignored by writers on the subject, with the result that an illegitimate optimism creeps into their predictions of the future. For if it is just the biological incapacity for the hardest physical work which has determined the subordination of women, then the prospect of

2 Karl Marx, Capital, I, 394.

8 "The African woman experiences a threefold servitude: through forced marriage; through her dowry and polygamy, which increases the leisure time of men and simultaneously their social prestige; and finally through the very unequal division of labor." Rene Dumont, L'Afrique Noire est Mai Partie (1962), p. 210.

4 Karl Marx, Precapitalist Economic Formations, p. 87.

an advanced machine technology, abolishing the need for strenuous physical exertion, would seem to promise, therefore, the liberation of women. For a moment industrialization itself thus seems to herald women's liberation. Engels, for instance, wrote: "The first premise for the emancipation of women is the reintroduction of the entire female sex into public industry. . . . And this has become possible only as a result of modern large-scale industry, which not only permits of the participation of women in production in large numbers, but actually calls for it and, moreover, strives to convert private domestic work also into a public industry." 5 What Marx said of early industrialism is no less, but also no more true of an automated society: . . It is obvious that the fact of the collective working group being composed of individuals of both sexes and all ages must necessarily, under suitable conditions, become a source of human development; although in its spontaneously developed, brutal, capitalistic form, where the laborer exists for the process of production, and not the process of production for the laborer, that fact is a pestiferous source of corruption and slavery." 6 Industrial labor and automated technology both promise the preconditions for women's liberation alongside man's—but no more than the preconditions. It is only too obvious that the advent of industrialization has not so far freed women in this sense, either in the West or in the East. In the West it is true that there was a great influx of women into jobs in the expanding industrial economy, but this soon leveled out, and there has been relatively little increase in recent decades. De Beauvoir hoped that automation would make a decisive, qualitative difference by abolishing altogether the physical differential between the sexes. But any reliance on this in itself accords an independent role to technique which history does not justify. Under capitalism, automation could possibly lead to an ever-growing structural unemployment which would expel women—the latest and least integrated recruits to the labor force and ideologically the most expendable for a bourgeois society—from production after only a brief interlude in it. Technology is mediated

5 Friedrich Engels, Origin of the Family, II, 233 & 311.

6 Karl Marx, Capital, I, 394.

by the total social structure and it is this which will determine woman's future in work relations.

Physical deficiency is not now, any more than in the past, a sufficient explanation of woman's relegation to inferior status. Coercion has been ameliorated to an ideology shared by both sexes. Commenting on the results of her questionnaire of working women, Viola Klein notes: "There is no trace of feminist egalitarianism—militant or otherwise—in any of the women's answers to our questionnaire; nor is it even implicitly assumed that women have a 'Right to work.'" 7 Denied, or refusing, a role in production, woman does not even create the pre-conditions of her liberation.

Women's absence from the critical sector of production historically, of course, has been caused not just by their physical weakness in a context of coercion—but also by their role in reproduction. Maternity necessitates periodic withdrawals from work, but this is not a decisive phenomenon. It is rather women's role in reproduction which has become, in capitalist society at least, the spiritual "complement" of men's role in production.8 Bearing children, bringing them up and maintaining the home—these form the core of woman's natural vocation, in this ideology. This belief has attained great force because of the seeming universality of the family as a human institution. There is little doubt that Marxist analyses have underplayed the fundamental problems posed here. The complete failure to give any operative content to the slogan of "abolition" of the family is striking evidence of this (as well as of the vacuity of the notion). The void thus created has been luckily occupied by traditional beliefs such as Townsend's.

The biological function of maternity is a universal, atemporal fact, and as such has seemed to escape the categories of Marxist historical analysis. From it follows-^- apparently—the stability and omnipresence of the family, if

7 Viola Klein, Working Wives (Institute of Personnel Management Occasional Papers, No. 15 [I960]), p. 13.

8 Maternity is the distinctive feature on which both sexes base their hopes: for oppression or liberation. The notion of woman's potential superiority on account of her procreative function reaches the absurd in Margherita Repetto, Maternita e Famiglia, 11-12 (1964), but it is found even in Evelyne Sullerot, Demain les Femmes (1965).

in very different forms.9 Once this is accepted, women's social subordination—however emphasized as an honorable, but different role (cf. the equal but "separate" ideologies of Southern racists)—can be seen to follow inevitably as an insurmountable biohistorical fact. The causal chain then goes on: Maternity, Family, Absence from Production and Public Life, Sexual Inequality.

The linchpin in this line of argument is the idea of the family. The notion that "family" and "society" are virtually coextensive terms, pr that an advanced society not founded on the nuclear family is now inconceivable, is widespread. It can only be seriously discussed by asking just what the family is—or rather what woman's role in the family is. Once this is done, the problem appears in quite a new light. For it is obvious that woman's role in the family—primitive, feudal or bourgeois—partakes of three quite different structures: reproduction, sexuality, and the socialization of children. These are historically, not intrinsically, related to each other in the present modern family. Biological parentage is not necessarily identical with social parentage (adoption). It is thus essential to discuss not the family as an unanalyzed entity, but the separate structures which today compose it, but which tomorrow may be decomposed into a new pattern.

Reproduction, it has been stressed, is a seemingly constant, atemporal phenomenon—part of biology rather than history. In fact, this is an illusion. What is true is that the "mode of reproduction" does not vary with the "mode of production"; it can remain effectively the same through a number of different modes of production. For it has been defined, till now, by its uncontrollable, natural character. To this extent, it has been an unmodified biological fact. As long as reproduction remained a natural phenomenon, of course, women were effectively doomed to social exploitation. In any sense, they were not masters of a large part of their lives. They had no choice as to whether or how often they gave birth to children (apart from repeated abortion), their existence was essentially subject to biological processes outside their control.

9 Philippe Aries in Centuries of Childhood (1962) shows that, though the family may in some form always have existed, it has only acquired its present significance with the advent of industrialization.

Contraception, invented as a rational technique only in the nineteenth century, was thus an innovation of world-wide historic importance.* It is only now beginning to show what immense consequences it could have, in the form of the pill. For what it means is that at last the mode of reproduction could potentially be transformed. Once child-bearing becomes totally voluntary (how much so is it in the West, even today?), its significance is fundamentally different. It need no longer be the sole or ultimate vocation of woman; it becomes one option among oth

Marx sees history as the development of man's trans-formation of nature, and thereby of himself—of human nature—in different modes of production. Today there are the technical possibilities for the humanization of the most natural part of human culture. This is what a change in the mode of reproduction could mean.

We are far from this state of affairs yet. In France and Italy the sale of any form of contraception remains illegal. The oral contraceptive is the privilege of a moneyed minority in a few Western countries. Even here the prog-ress has been realized in a typically conservative and ex-ploitive form. It is made only for women, who are thus "guinea pigs" in a venture which involves both sexes.

The fact of overwhelming importance is that easily available contraception threatens to dissociate sexual from reproductive experience—which all contemporary bourgeois ideology tries to make inseparable, as the raison d'etre of the family.

At present, reproduction in our society is often a kind of sad mimicry of production. Work in a capitalist society is an alienation of labor in that it is the making of a social product which is confiscated by capital. But it can still sometimes be a real work of creation, purposive and re-sponsible, even in conditions of the worst exploitation. Maternity is often a caricature of this. The biological product—the child—is treated as if it were a solid product. Parenthood becomes a kind of substitute for work, an ac-tivity in which the child is seen as an object created by the mother, in the same way as a commodity is created by a

* It's interesting to note that nowhere in the world did any women's rights movements arise until the middle of the nineteenth century, either.—Ed.

worker. Naturally, the child does not literally escape, but the mother's alienation can be much worse than that of the worker whose product is appropriated by the boss. No human being can create another human being. A person's biological origin is an abstraction. The child as an autonomous person inevitably threatens the activity which claims to create it continually merely as a possession of the parent. Possessions are felt as extensions of the self. The child as a possession is supremely this. Anything the child does is therefore tThreat to the mother herself, who has renounced her autonomy through this misconception of her reproduction role. There are few more precarious ventures on which to base a life.

Furthermore, even if the woman has emotional control over her child, legally and economically both she and-it are subject to the father. The social cult of maternity is matched by the real socioeconomic powerlessness of the mother. The psychological and practical benefits men receive from this are obvious. The converse of woman's quest for creation in the child is man's retreat from his work into the family: "When we come home, we lay aside our mask and drop our tools and are no longer lawyers, sailors, statesmen, clergymen, but only men. We fall again into our most human relations, which, after all, are the whole of what belongs to us as we are in ourselves." 10

Unlike her nonproductive status, her capacity for maternity is a definition of woman. But it is only a physiological definition. So long as it is allowed to remain a substitute for action and creativity, and the home an area of relaxation for men, women will remain confined to the species, to her universal and natural condition.

Sexuality has traditionally been the most tabooed dimension of women's situation. The meaning of sexual freedom and its connection with women's freedom is a particularly difficult subject which few socialist writers have cared to broach. Fourier alone identified the two totally, in lyrical strophes describing a sexual paradise of permutations-—the famous phalansteries. "Socialist morality" in the Soviet Union for a long time debarred serious discussion of the subject within the world Communist movement. Marx himself—in this respect somewhat less liberal than Engels—

10 J. A. Froude, Nemesis of Faith (1849), p. 103.

early in his life expressed traditional views on the matter:
. The sanctification of the sexual instinct through exclusivity, the checking of instinct by laws, the moral beauty which makes nature's commandment ideal in the form of an emotional bond—[this is] the spiritual essence of marriage." 11

Yet it is obvious that throughout history women have been appropriated as sexual objects, as much as progenitors or producers. Indeed, the sexual relation can be assimilated to the statute of possession much more easily and completely than the productive or reproductive relationship. Contemporary sexual vocabulary bears eloquent witness to this—it is a comprehensive lexicon of reification. Later Marx was well aware of this, of course: "Marriage ... is incontestably a form of exclusive private property." 12 But neither he nor his successors ever tried seriously to envisage the implications of this for socialism, or even for a structural analysis of women's condition. Communism, Marx stressed in the same passage, would not mean mere "communalization" of women as common property. Beyond this, he never ventured.

Some historical considerations are in order here. For if socialists have said nothing, the gap has been filled by liberal ideologues. A recent book, Eros Denied, by Wayland Young, argues that Western civilization has been uniquely repressive sexually and in a plea for greater sexual freedom today compares it at some length with Oriental and ancient societies. It is striking, however, that his book makes no reference whatever to women's status in these different societies, or to the different forms of marriage contract prevalent in them. This makes the whole argument a purely formal exercise—an obverse of socialist discussions of women's position which ignores the problem of sexual freedom and its meanings. For while it is true that certain Oriental or ancient (and indeed primitive) cultures were much less puritan than Western societies, it is absurd to regard this as a kind of "transposable value" which can be abstracted from its social structure. In effect, in many of these societies sexual openness was accompanied

11 Karl Marx, Chapitre de Marriage (Oeuvres Completes, ed. Molitor, Oeuvres Philosophiques), I, p. 25.

12 Karl Marx, Private Property and Communism, p. 153.

by a form of expression simply of masculine domination. Since art was the province of man, too, this freedom finds a natural and often powerful expression in art—which is often quoted as if it were evidence of the total quality of human relationships in the society. Nothing could be more misleading. What is necessary, rather than this naive, hortatory core of historical example, is some account of the co-variation between the degrees of sexual liberty and openness and the position and dignity of women in different societies. Some points are immediately obvious. The actual history is much more dialectical than any liberal account presents it. Unlimited juridical polygamy—whatever the sexualization of the culture which accompanies it—is clearly a total derogation of woman's autonomy and constitutes an extreme form of oppression. Ancient China is a perfect illustration of this. Wittfogel describes the extraordinary despotism of the Chinese paterfamilias—a "liturgical (semiofficial) policeman of his kin group." 13 In the West, however, the advent of monogamy was in no sense an absolute improvement. It certainly did not create a one-to-one equality—far from it. Engels commented accurately: "Monogamy does not by any means make its appearance in history as the reconciliation of man and woman, still less as the highest form of such a reconciliation. On the contrary, it appears as the subjugation of one sex by the other, as the proclamation of a conflict between the sexes entirely unknown hitherto in prehistoric times." 14

But in the Christian era, monogamy took on a very specific form in the West. It was allied with an unprecedented regime of general sexual repression. In its Pauline version, this had a markedly antifeminine bias, inherited from Judaism. With time this became diluted—feudal society, despite its subsequent reputation for asceticism, practiced formal monogamy with considerable actual acceptance of polygamous behavior, at least within the ruling class. But here again the extent of sexual freedom was only an index of masculine domination. In England, the truly major charge occurred in the sixteenth century with the rise of militant puritanism and the increase of market

13 Karl Wittfogel, Oriental Despotism (1957), p. 116.

14 Friedrich Engels, op. cit., II, 224.

relations in the economy. Lawrence Stone observes: "In practice, if not in theory, the early sixteenth-century nobility was a polygamous society, and some contrived to live with a succession of women despite the official prohibition on divorce. . . . But impressed by Calvinist criticisms of the double standard, in the late sixteenth century public opinion began to object to the open maintenance of a mistress." 15 Capitalism and the attendant demands of the newly emergent bourgeoisie accorded woman a new status as wife and mother. Her legal right improved; there was vigorous controversy over her social position; wife-beating was condemned. "In a woman the bourgeois man is looking for a counterpart, not an equal." 16 At the social periphery woman did occasionally achieve an equality which was more than her feminine function in a market society. In the extreme sects women often had completely equal rights: Fox argued that the Redemption restored Prelapsarian equality and Quaker women thereby gained a real autonomy. But once most of the sects were institutionalized, the need for family discipline was reemphasized and woman's obedience with it. As Keith Thomas says, the Puritans "had done something to raise women's status but not really very much." 17 The patriarchal system was retained by the economic mode of production. The transition to complete effective monogamy accompanied the transition to modern bourgeois society as we know it today. Like the market system itself, it represented a historic advance, at great historic cost. The formal, juridical equality of capitalist society and capitalist rationality now applied as much to the marital as the labor contract. In both cases, nominal parity masks real exploitation and inequality. But in both cases the formal equality is itself a certain progress, which can help to make possible a further advance.

For the situation today is defined by a new contradiction. Once formal conjugal equality (monogamy) is established,

15 Lawrence Stone, The Crisis of the Aristocracy (1965), pp. 663-664.

16 Simone de Beauvoir, La Marche Longue (1957; trans. The Long March, 1958), p. 141.

17 Keith Thomas, Women and the Civil War Sects, Past and Present, No. 13 (1958), p. 43.

sexual freedom as such—which under polygamous conditions was usually a form of exploitation—becomes, conversely, a possible force for liberation. It then means, simply, the freedom for both sexes to transcend the limits of present sexual institutions.

Historically, then, there has been a dialectical movement, in'which sexual expression was "sacrificed" in an epoch of more or less puritan repression, which nevertheless produced a greater parity of sexual roles, which in turn creates the precondition for a genuine sexual liberation, in the dual sense of equality and freedom—whose unity defines socialism.

This movement can be verified within the history of the "sentiments." The cult of love only emerged in the twelfth century in opt>osit;on to legal marital forms and wi'th a heightened valo-izat;on of women (courtly love). It therefore gradually became diffused, and assimilated to marriage as such, which in its bourgeois form (romantic love) became a free choice for life. What is striking here is that monogamy as an institution in the West anticipated the idea of love by many centuries. The two have subsequently been officially harmonized, but the tension be ween them has never been abolished. There is a formal contradiction between the voluntary contractual character of "marriage" and the spontaneous, uncontrollable character of "love"—the passion that is celebrated precisely for its involuntary force. The notion that it occurs only once in every life and can therefore be integ~ated into a voluntary contract becomes decreasingly plausible in the light of eve-yday experience—once sexual repression as a psychoideological system becomes at all relaxed.

Obviously, the main breach in the traditional value pattern has so far been the increase in premarital sexual experience. This is now virtually legitimized in contemporary bourgeois society. But its implications are explosive for the ideological conception of marriage that dominates this society: that of an exclusive and permanent bond. A recent American anthology, The Family and the Sexual Revolution, reveals this very clearly: "As far as extramarital relations are concerned, the antisexualists are fighting a st ong, if losing, battle. The very heart of the Judeo-Christian sex ethic is that men and women shall

remain virginal until marriage and that they shall be completely faithful after marriage. In regard to premarital chastity, this ethic seems clearly on the way out, and in many segments of the populace is more and more becoming a dead letter." 18

The current wave of sexual liberalization, in the present context, could become conducive to the greater freedom of women. Equally, it could presage new forms of oppression. The puritan-bourgeois creation of woman as "counterpart" has produced the precondition for emancipation. But it gave statutory legal equality to the sexes at the cost of greatly intensified repression. Subsequently—like private property itself—it has become a brake on the further development of a free sexuality. Capitalist market relations have historically been a precondition of socialism; bourgeois marital relations (contrary to the denunciation of the Communist Manifesto) may equally be a precondition of women's liberation.

Woman's biological destiny as mother becomes a cultural vocation in her role as socializer of children. In bringing up children, woman achieves her main social definition. Her suitability for socialization springs from her physiological condition: her ability to lactate and occasional relative inability to undertake strenuous work loads. It should be said at the outset that suitability is not inevitability. Levi-Strauss writes: "In every human group, women give birth to children and take care of them, and men rather have as their specialty hunting and warlike activities. Even there, though, we have ambiguous cases: of course, men never give birth to babies, but in many societies . . . they are made to act as if they did." 19 Evans-Pritchard's description of the Nuer tribe depicts just such a situation. And another anthropologist, Margaret Mead, comments on the element of wish-fulfillment in the assumption of a natural correlation of femininity and nurturance: "We have assumed that because it is convenient for a mother to wish to care for her child, this is a trait

18 Albert Ellis, The Folklore of Sex (in The Family and the Sexual Revolution, ed. E. M. Schur [1964]), p. 35.

19 Claude Levi-Strauss, The Family (in Man, Culture and Society, ed. H. L. Shapiro [1956]), p. 274.

with which women have been more generously endowed by a careful teleological process of evolution. We have assumed that because men have hunted, an activity requiring enterprise, bravery and initiative, they have been endowed with these useful aptitudes as part of their sex-temperament."20 However, the cultural allocation of roles in bringing up children—and the limits of its variability—is not the essential problem for consideration. What is much more important is to analyze the nature of the socialization process itself and its requirements.

Parsons, in his detailed analysis, claims that it is essential for the child to have two "parents," one who plays an "expressive" role, and one who plays an "instrumental" role.21 The nuclear family revolves around the two axes of generational hierarchy and of these two roles. In typically Parsonian idiom, he claims: "At least one fundamental feature of the external situation of social systems—here a feature of the physiological organism—is a crucial reference point for differentiation in the family. This lies in the division of organisms into lactating and nonlactating classes." In all groups, he and his colleagues assert, even in those primitive tribeS discussed by Pritchard and Mead, the male plays the instrumental role in relation to the wife-mother. At one stage the mother plays an instrumental and expressive role vis-a-vis her infant: This is pre-oedipally when she is the source of approval and disapproval as well as of love and care. However, after this, the father, or male substitute (in matrilineal societies the mother's brother) takes over.

In a modern industrial society two types of role are clearly important: the adult familial role in the family procreation, and the adult occupational role. The function of the family as such reflects the function of the woman within it; it is primarily expressive. The person playing the integrated-adaptive-expressive role cannot be off all the time on instrumental-occupational errands . . . hence there is a built-in inhibition of the woman's work outside the home. Parsons' analysis makes clear the exact role of the

20 Margaret Mead, Sex and Temperament {op. cit.), pp. 207-208.

21 Talcott Parsons and Robert F. Bales, Family, Socialization and Interaction Process (1956), p. 313.

maternal socializer in contemporary American society.22 It fails to go on to state that other aspects and modes of socialization are conceivable. What is valuable in Parsons' work is simply his insistence on the central importance of socialization as a process which is constitutive of any society (no Marxist has so far provided a comparable analysis). His general conclusion is that "it seems to be without serious qualification the opinion of competent personality psychologists that, though personalities differ greatly in their degrees of rigidity, certain broad fundamental patterns of 'character' are laid down in childhood (so far as they are not genetically inherited) and are not radically changed by adult experience. The exact degree to which this is the case or the exact age levels at which plasticity becomes greatly diminished, are not at issue here. The important thing is the fact of childhood character formation and its relative stability after that." 23

That seems indisputable. One of the great revolutions of modern psychology has been the discovery of the decisive specific weight of infancy in the course of an individual life—a psychic time disproportionately greater than the chronological time. Freud began the revolution with his work on infantile sexuality; Klein radicalized it with her work on the first year of the infant's life. The result is that today we know far more than ever before how delicate and precarious a process the passage from birth to childhood is for everyone. The fate of the adult personality can be largely decided in the initial months of life. The precondition for later stability and integration demands an extraordinary degree of care and intelligence on the part of the adult who is socializing the child, as well as a persistence through time of the same person.

These undoubted advances in the scientific understanding of childhood have been widely used as an argument to reassert woman's quintessential maternal function, at a time when the traditional family has seemed increasingly eroded.

22 One of Parsons' main theoretical innovations is his contention that what the child strives to internalize will vary with the content of the reciprocal role relationships in which he is a participant. R. D. Laing, in Family and Individual Structure (1966), contends that a child may internalize an entire system, i.e., "the family."

23 Talcott Parsons, The Social System (1952), p. 227.

Bowlby, studying evacuee children in the Second World War, declared: "Essential for mental health is that the infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate and continuous relationship with his mother," 24 setting a trend which has become cumulative since. The emphasis of familial ideology has shifted away from a cult of the biological ordeal of maternity (the pain that makes the child precious, etc.) to a celebration of mother-care as a social act. This can reach ludicrous extremes: "For the mother, breast-feeding becomes a complement to the act of creation. It gives her a heightened sense of fulfillment and allows her to participate in a relationship as close to perfection as any that a woman can hope to achieve. . . . The simple fact of giving birth, however, does not of itself fulfill this need and longing. . . . Motherliness is a way of life. It enables a woman to express her total self with the tender feelings, the protective attitudes, the encompassing love of the motherly woman." 25 The tautologies, the mystification (an act of creation, a process, surely?), the sheer absurdities—"as close to perfection as any woman can hope to achieve"—point to the gap between reality and ideology.

This ideology corresponds in dislocated form to a real change in the pattern of the family. As the family has become smaller, each child has become more important; the actual act of reproduction occupies less and less time and the socializing and nurturance process increases commensurately in significance. Bourgeois society is obsessed by the physical, moral and sexual problems of childhood and adolescence.26 Ultimate responsibility for these is placed on the mother. Thus the mother's "maternal" role has retreated as her socializing role has increased. In the

24 John Bowlby, cit. Bruno Bettelheim, "Does Communal Education Work? The Case of the Kibbutz" (in The Family and the Sexual Revolution, op. cit.), p. 295.

25 Betty Ann Countrywoman, in Redbook (June 1960), cit. Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique (1963), p. 58.

26 David Reisman, while correctly observing this, makes a rather vain criticism of it: "There has been a tendency in current social research, influenced as it is by psychoanalysis, to overemphasize and overgeneralize the importance of very early childhood in character formation. ... It is increasingly recognized, however, that character

1890s in England a mother spent 15 years in a state of pregnancy and lactation; in the 1960s she spends an average of four years. Compulsory schooling from the age of five, of course, reduces the maternal function very greatly after the initial vulnerable years.

The present situation is then one in which the qualitative importance of socialization during the early years of the child's life has acquired a much greater significance than in the past—while the quantitative amount of a mother's life spent either in gestation or child-rearing has greatly diminished. It follows that socialization cannot simply be elevated to the woman's new maternal vocation. Used as a mystique, it becomes an instrument of oppression. Moreover, there is no inherent reason why the biological and social mother should coincide. The process of socialization is, in the Kleinian sense invariable—but the person of the socializer can vary.

Bruno Bettelheim observing kibbutz methods notes that the child who is reared by a trained nurse (though normally maternally breast-fed) does not suffer the backwash of typical parental anxieties and thus may positively gain by the system.27 This possibility should not be fetishized in its turn. (Jean Baby, speaking of the post-four-year-old child, goes so far as to say that "complete separation appears indispensable to guarantee the liberty of the child as well as of the mother." 28) But what it does reveal is the viability of plural forms of socialization—neither necessarily tied to the nuclear family, nor to the biological parent.

CONCLUSION

The lesson of these reflections is that the liberation of women can only be achieved if all four structures in which

may change greatly after this early period. . . . Cultures differ widely not only in their timing of the various steps in character formation but also in the agents they rely on at each step." The Lonely Crowd (1950), pp. 38-39.

27 Bruno Bettelheim, "Does Communal Education work? The Case of the Kibbitz," p. 203. From The Family and the Sexual Revolution, op. cit.

28 Jean Babyy Un Monde Meilleur (1964), p. 99.

they are integrated are transformed. A modification of any one of them can be offset by a reinforcement of another, so that the mere permutation of the form of exploitation is achieved. The history of the last 60 years provides ample evidence of this. In the early twentieth century militant feminism in England or the U.S.A. surpassed the labor movement in the violence of its assault on bourgeois society, in pursuit of suffrage. This political right was eventually won. Nonetheless, though a simple completion of the formal legal equality of bourgeois society, it left the socioeconomic situation of women virtually unchanged. The wider legacy of the suffrage was nil: the suffragists proved quite unable to move beyond their own initial demands, and many of their leading figures later became extreme reactionaries.

The Russian revolution produced a quite different experience. The Soviet Union in the 1920s advanced social legislation aimed at liberating women above all in the field of sexuality: divorce was made free and automatic for either partner, thus effectively liquidating marriage; illegitimacy was abolished, abortion was free, etc. The social and demographic effects of these laws in a backward, semiliterate society bent on rapid industrialization (needing, therefore, a high birthrate) were—predictably—catastrophic. Stalinism soon produced a restoration of the iron traditional norms. Inheritance was reinstated, divorce inaccessible, abortion illegal, etc. "The state cannot exist without the family. Marriage is a positive value for the Socialist Soviet State only if the partners see in it a lifelong union. So-called free love is a bourgeois invention and has nothing in common with the principles of conduct of a Soviet citizen. Moreover, marriage receives its full value for the state only if there is progeny, and the consorts experience the highest happiness of parenthood," wrote the official journal of the Commissariat of Justice in 1939. Women still retained the right and obligation to work, but because these gains had not been integrated into the early attempts to abolish the family and to free sexuality, no general liberation has occurred.

In China, still another experience is being played out today. At a comparable stage of the revolution all the emphasis is being placed on liberating women in production. This has produced an impressive social promotion of

women. But it has been accompanied by a tremendous repression of sexuality and a rigorous puritanism (currently rampant in civic life). This corresponds not only to the need to liberate women massively in economic life, but to a deep cultural reaction against the corruption and prostitution prevalent in Imperial and Kuomingtang China (a phenomenon unlike anything in Czarist Russia). Because the exploitation of women was so great in the ancien regime women's participation at the village level in the Chinese revolution was uniquely high. As for reproduction, the Russian cult of maternity in the 1930s and the 1940s has not been repeated for demographic reasons: indeed, China may be one of the first countries in the world to provide free state-authorized contraception on a universal scale to the population. Again, however, given the low level of industrialization and fear produced by imperialist encirclement, no all-around advance could be expected.

It is only in the highly developed states of the West that an authentic liberation of women can be envisaged today. But for this to occur there must be a transformation of all the structures into which they are integrated and a unite de ruptureA revolutionary movement must base its analysis on the uneven development of each, and attack the weakest link in the combination. This may then become the point of departure for a general transformation.

Psychology Constructs the Female, or The Fantasy Life of the Male Psychologist[1]

NAOMI WEISSTEIN

It is an implicit assumption that the area of psychology which concerns itself with personality has the onerous but necessary task of describing the limits of human possibility.

1 This is a revised and expanded version of "Kinder, Kuche, Kirche as Scientific Law: Psychology Constructs the Female," published by the New England Free Press, 791 Tremont Street, Boston, Massachusetts (1968).

Thus when we are about to consider the liberation of women, we naturally look to psychology to tell us what "true" liberation would mean: what would give women the freedom to fulfill their own intrinsic natures.

Psychologists have set about describing the true natures of women with a certainty and a sense of their own infallibility rarely found in the secular world. Bruno Bettelheim, of the University of Chicago, tells us (1965) that "We must start with the realization that, as much as women want to be good scientists or engineers, they want first and foremost to be womanly companions of men and to be mothers."

Erik Erikson, of Harvard University (1964), upon noting that young women often ask whether they can "have an identity before they know whom they will marry, and for whom they will make a home," explains somewhat elegiacally that "much of a young woman's identity is already defined in her kind of attractiveness and in the selectivity of her search for the man (or men) by whom she wishes to be sought." Mature womanly fulfillment, for Erikson, rests on the fact that a woman's "somatic design harbors an 'inner space' destined to bear the offspring of chosen men, and with it, a biological, psychological, and ethical commitment to take care of human infancy." Some psychiatrists even see the acceptance of woman's role by women as a solution to societal problems. "Woman is nurturance . . . writes Joseph Rheingold (1964), a psychiatrist at Harvard Medical School;

. . anatomy decrees the life of a woman. . . . When women grow up without dread of their biological functions and without subversion of feminist doctrine, and therefore enter upon motherhood with a sense of fulfillment and altruistic sentiment, we shall attain the goal of a good life and a secure world in which to live it."

These views from men who are assumed to be experts reflect, in a surprisingly transparent way, the cultural consensus. They not only assert that a woman is defined by her ability to attract men, they see no alternative definitions. They think that the definition of a woman in terms of a man is the way it should be; and they back it up with psychosexual incantation and biological ritual curses. A woman has an identity if she is attractive enough to obtain a man, and thus, a home; for this will allow her to

set about her life's task of "joyful altruism and nurturance."

Business certainly does not disagree. If views such as Bettelheim's and Erikson's do indeed have something to do with real liberation for women, then seldom in human history has so much money and effort been spent on helping a group of people realize their true potential. Clothing, cosmetics, home furnishings are multimillion-dollar businesses: if you don't like investing in firms that make weaponry and flaming gasoline, then there's a lot of cash in "inner space." Sheet and pillowcase manufacturers are concerned to fill this inner space:

> Mother, for a while this morning, I thought I wasn't cut out for married life. Hank was late for work and forgot his apricot juice and walked out without kissing me, and when I was all alone I started crying. But then the postman came with the sheets and towels you sent that look like big bandana handkerchiefs, and you know what I thought? That those big red and blue handkerchiefs are for girls like me to dry their tears on so they can get busy and do what a housewife has to do. Throw open the windows and start getting the house ready, and the dinner, maybe clean the silver and put new geraniums in the box. Everything to be ready for him when he walks through that door. [Fieldcrest 1966; emphasis added.]

Of course, it is not only the sheet and pillowcase manufacturers, the cosmetics industry, the home-furnishings salesmen who profit from and make use of the cultural definitions of man and woman. The example above is blatantly and overtly pitched to a particular kind of sexist stereotype: the child nymph. But almost all aspects of the media are normative, that is, they have to do with the ways in which beautiful people, or just folks, or ordinary Americans, or extraordinary Americans should live their lives. They define the possible; and the possibilities are usually in terms of what is male and what is female. Men and women alike are waiting for Hank, the Silva Thins man, to walk back through that door.

It is interesting but limited exercise to show that psychologists and psychiatrists embrace these sexist norms of our culture, that they do not see beyond the most super-

ficial and stultifying media conceptions of female nature, and that their ideas of female nature serve industry and commerce so well. Just because it's good for business doesn't mean it's wrong. What I will show is that it is wrong; that there isn't the tiniest shred of evidence that these fantasies of servitude and childish dependence have anything to do with women's true potential; that the idea of the nature of human possibility which rests on the accidents of individual development of genitalia, on what is possible today because of what happened yesterday, on the fundamentalist myth of sex-organ causality, has strangled and deflected psychology so that it is relatively useless in describing, explaining or predicting humans and their behavior. It then goes without saying that present psychology is less than worthless in contributing to a vision which could truly liberate—men as well as women.

The central argument of my paper, then, is this. Psychology has nothing to say about what women are really like, what they need and what they want, essentially because psychology does not know. I want to stress that this failure is not limited to women; rather, the kind of psychology which has addressed itself to how people act and who they are has failed to understand, in the first place, why people act the way they do, and certainly failed to understand what might make them act differently.

The kind of psychology which has addressed itself to these questions divides into two professional areas: academic personality research, and clinical psychology and psychiatry. The basic reason for failure is the same in both these areas: the central assumption for most psychologists of human personality has been that human behavior rests on an individual and inner dynamic, perhaps fixed in infancy, perhaps fixed by genitalia, perhaps simply arranged in a rather immovable cognitive network. But this assumption is rapidly losing ground as personality psychologists fail again and again to get consistency in the assumed personalities of their subjects (Block, 1968). Meanwhile, the evidence is collecting that what a person does and who he believes himself to be, will in general be a function of what people around him expect him to be, and what the overall situation in which he is acting implies that he is. Compared to the influence of the social context within which a person lives, his or her history and "traits,"

as well as biological makeup, may simply be random variations, "noise" superimposed on the true signal which can predict behavior.

Some academic personality psychologists are at least looking at the counterevidence and questioning their theories; no such corrective is occurring in clinical psychology and psychiatry. Freudians and neo-Freudians, Adlerians and neo-Adlerians, classicists and swingers, clinicians and psychiatrists simply refuse to look at the evidence against their theory and practice. And they support their theory and their practice with stuff so transparently biased as to have absolutely no standing as empirical evidence.

To summarize: the first reason for psychology's failure to understand what people are and how they act is that psychology has looked for inner traits when it should have been looking for social context; the second reason for psychology's failure is that the theoreticians of personality have generally been clinicians and psychiatrists, and they have never considered it necessary to have evidence in support of their theories.

THEORY WITHOUT EVIDENCE

Let us turn to this latter cause of failure first: the acceptance by psychiatrists and clinical psychologists of theory without evidence. If we inspect the literature of personality, it is immediately obvious that the bulk of it is written by clinicians and psychiatrists, and that the major support for their theories is "years of intensive clinical experience." This is a tradition started by Freud. His "insights" occurred during the course of his work with his patients. Now there is nothing wrong with such an approach to theory formulation; a person is free to make up theories with any inspiration which works: divine revelation, intensive clinical practice, a random-numbers table. But he is not free to claim any validity for his theory until it has been tested and confirmed. But theories are treated in no such tentative way in ordinary clinical practice. Consider Freud. What he thought constituted evidence violated the most minimal conditions of scientific rigor. In The Sexual Enlightenment of Children (1963), the classic

document which is supposed to demonstrate empirically the existence of a castration complex and its connection to a phobia, Freud based his analysis on reports of the father of the little boy, himself in therapy, and a devotee of Freudian theory. I really don't have to comment further on the contamination in this kind of evidence. It is remarkable that only recently has Freud's classic theory on the sexuality of women—the notion of the double orgasm—been actually tested physiologically and found just plain wrong. Now those who claim that 50 years of psychoanalytic experience constitute evidence enough of the essential truths of Freud's theory should ponder the robust health of the double orgasm. Did women, until Masters and Johnson (1966), believe they were having two different kinds of orgasm? Did their psychiatrists cow them into reporting something that was not true? If so, were there other things they reported that were also not true? Did psychiatrists ever learn anything different than their theories had led them to believe? If clinical experience means anything at all, surely we should have been done with the double-orgasm myth long before the Masters and Johnson studies.

But certainly, you may object, "years of intensive clinical experience" is the only reliable measure in a discipline which rests for its findings on insight, sensitivity, and intuition. The problem with insight, sensitivity, and intuition is that they can confirm for all time the biases that one started out with. People used to be absolutely convinced of their ability to tell which of their number were engaging in witchcraft. All it required was some sensitivity to the workings of the devil.

Years of intensive clinical experience is not the same thing as empirical evidence. The first thing an experimenter learns in any kind of experiment which involves humans is the concept of the "double blind." The term is taken from medical experiments, where one group is given a drug which is presumably supposed to change behavior in a certain way, and a control group is given a placebo. If the observers or the subjects know which group took which drug, the result invariably comes out on the positive side for the new drug. Only when it is not known which subject took which pill is validity remotely approximated. In addition, with judgments of human behavior, it is so difficult to precisely tie down just what behavior is

going on, let alone what behavior should be expected, that one must test again and again the reliability of judgments. How many judges, blind, will agree in their observations? Can they replicate their own judgments at some later time? When, in actual practice, these judgment criteria are tested for clinical judgments, then we find that the judges cannot judge reliably, nor can they judge consistently: they do no better than chance in identifying which of a certain set of stories were written by men and which by women; which of a whole battery of clinical test results are the products of homosexuals and which are the products of heterosexuals (Hooker, 1957), and which, of a battery of clinical test results and interviews (where questions are asked such as "Do you have delusions?"—Little and Schneidman, 1959) are products of psychotics, neurotics, psychosomatics, or normals. Lest this summary escape your notice, let me stress the implications of these findings. The ability of judges, chosen for their clinical expertise, to distinguish male heterosexuals from male homosexuals on the basis of three widely used clinical projective tests—the Rorschach, the TAT, and the MAP—was no better than chance. The reason this is such devastating news, of course, is that sexuality is supposed to be of fundamental importance in the deep dynamic of personality; if what is considered gross sexual deviance cannot be caught, then what are psychologists talking about when they, for example, claim that at the basis of paranoid psychosis is "latent homosexual panic"? They can't even identify what homosexual anything is, let alone "latent homosexual panic." More frightening, expert clinicians cannot be consistent on what diagnostic category to assign to a person, again on the basis of both tests and interviews; a number of normals in the Little and Schneidman study were described as psychotic, in such categories as "schizophrenic with homosexual tendencies" or "schizoid character with depressive trends." But most disheartening, when the judges were asked to rejudge the test protocols some weeks later, their diagnoses of the same subjects on the basis of the same protocol differed markedly from their initial judgments. It is obvious that even simple descriptive conventions in clinical psychology cannot be consistently applied; that these descriptive conventions have any explanatory significance is therefore, of course, out of the question.

As a graduate student at Harvard some years ago, I was a member of a seminar which was asked to identify which of two piles of a clinical test, the TAT, had been written by males and which by females. Only four students out of 20 identified the piles correctly, and this was after one and a half months of intensively studying the differences between men and women. Since this result is below chance —that is, this result would occur by chance about four out of a thousand times—we may conclude that there is finally a consistency here; students are judging knowledgeably within the context of psychological teaching about the differences between men and women; the teachings themselves are simply erroneous.

You may argue that the theory may be scientifically "unsound" but at least it cures people. There is no evidence that it does. In 1952, Eysenck reported the results of what is called an "outcome of therapy" study of neurotics which showed that of the patients who received psychoanalysis the improvement rate was 44 percent; of the patients who received psychotherapy the improvement rate was 64 percent; and of the patients who received no treatment at all the improvement rate was 72 percent. These findings have never been refuted; subsequently, later studies have confirmed the negative results of the Eysenck study. (Barron and Leary, 1955; Bergin, 1963; Cartwright and Vogel, 1960; Truax, 1963; Powers and Witmer, 1951.) How can good clinicians and psychiatrists, then, in all good conscience, continue to practice? Largely by ignoring these results and being careful not to do outcome-of-therapy studies. The attitude is nicely summarized by Rotter (I960) (quoted in Astin, 1961): "Research studies in psychotherapy tend to be concerned with psychotherapeutic procedure and less with outcome. ... To some extent, it reflects an interest in the psychotherapy situation as a kind of personality laboratory." Some laboratory.

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT

Thus, since clinical experience and tools can be shown to be worse than useless when tested for consistency, efficacy, agreement, and reliability, we can safely conclude that

theories of a clinical nature advanced about women are also worse than useless. I want to turn now to the second major point in my paper, which is that, even when psychological theory is constructed so that it may be tested, and rigorous standards of evidence are used, it has become increasingly clear that in order to understand why people do what they do, and certainly in order to change what people do, psychologists must turn away from the theory of the causal nature of the inner dynamic and look to the social context within which individuals live.

It should be noted that psychologists have been as quick to assert absolute truths about the nature of homosexuality as they have about the nature of women. The arguments presented in this paper apply equally to the nature of homosexuality; psychologists know nothing about it; there is no more evidence for the "naturalness" of heterosexuality than for the "naturalness" of homosexuality. Psychology has functioned as a pseudo-scientific buttress for our cultural sex-role notions, that is, as a buttress for patriarchal ideology and patriarchal social organization: women's liberation and gay liberation fight against a common victimization.

Before examining the relevance of this approach for the question of women, let me first sketch the groundwork for this assertion.

In the first place, it is clear (Block, 1968) that personality tests never yield consistent predictions; a rigid authoritarian on one measure will be an unauthoritarian on the next. But the reason for this inconsistency is only now becoming clear, and it seems overwhelmingly to have much more to do with the social situation in which the subject finds himself than with the subject himself.

In a series of brilliant experiments, Rosenthal and his co-workers (Rosenthal and Jacobson, 1968; Rosenthal, 1966) have shown that if one group of experimenters has one hypothesis about what they expect to find, and another group of experimenters has the opposite hypothesis, both groups will obtain results in accord with their hypotheses. The results obtained are not due to mishandling of data by biased experimenters; rather, somehow, the bias of the experimenter creates a changed environment in which subjects actually act differently. For instance, in one experiment, subjects were to assign numbers to pictures of men's

faces, with high numbers representing the subject's judgment that the man in the picture was a successful person, and low numbers representing the subject's judgment that the man in the picture was an unsuccessful person. The experimenters read the same set of instructions to two groups of subjects, and were required to say nothing else than what was in the instructions. One group of experimenters was told that the subjects tended to rate the faces high; another group of experimenters was told that the subjects tended to rate the faces low. Each group of experimenters was instructed to follow precisely the same procedure: they were required to read to subjects a set of instructions, and to say nothing else. For the 375 subjects run, the results showed clearly that those subjects who performed the task with experimenters who expected high ratings gave high ratings, and those subjects who performed the task with experimenters who expected low ratings gave low ratings. How did this happen? The experimenters all used the same words; it was something in their conduct which made one group of subjects do one thing, and another group of subjects do another thing.

The concreteness of the changed conditions produced by expectation is a fact, a reality: even with animal subjects, in two separate studies (Rosenthal and Fode, 1960; Rosenthal and Lawson, 1961), those experimenters who were told that rats learning mazes had been especially bred for brightness obtained better learning from their rats than did experimenters believing their rats to have been bred for dullness. In a very recent study, Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) extended their analysis to the natural classroom situation. Here they tested a group of students and reported to the teachers that some among the students tested "showed great promise." Actually, the students so named had been selected on a random basis. Some time later, the experimenters retested the group of students: those students whose teachers had been told that they were "promising" showed real and dramatic increments in their IQs as compared to the rest of the students. Something in the conduct of the teachers toward who the teachers believed to be the "bright" students, made those students brighter.

Thus, even in carefully controlled experiments, and with no outward or conscious difference in behavior, the hypotheses we start with will influence enormously the.

behavior of another organism. These studies are extremely important when assessing the validity of psychological studies of women. Since it is beyond doubt that most of us start with notions as to the nature of men and women, the validity of a number of observations of sex differences is questionable, even when these observations have been made under carefully controlled conditions. Second, and more important, the Rosenthal experiments point quite clearly to the influence of social expectation. In some extremely important ways, people are what you expect them to be or at least they behave as you expect them to behave. Thus, if women, according to Bettelheim, want first and foremost to be good wives and mothers, it is extremely likely that this is what Bruno Bettelheim, and the rest of society, want them to be.

There is another series of brilliant social psychological experiments which point to the overwhelming effect of social context. These are the obedience experiments of Stanley Milgram (1965) in which subjects are asked to obey the orders of unknown experimenters, orders which carry with them the distinct possibility that the subject is killing somebody.

In Milgram's experiments, a subject is told that he is administering a learning experiment, and that he is to deal out shocks each time the other "subject" (in reality, a confederate of the' experimenter) answers incorrectly. The equipment appears to provide graduated shocks ranging upwards from 15 volts through 450 volts; for each of four consecutive voltages there are verbal descriptions such as "mild shock," "danger, severe shock," and, finally, for the 435- and 450-volt switches, a red XXX marked over the switches. Each time the stooge answers incorrectly the subject is supposed to increase the voltage. As the voltage increases, the stooge begins to cry in pain; he demands that the experiment stop; finally, he refuses to answer at all. When he stops responding, the experimenter instructs the subject to continue increasing the voltage; for each shock administered the stooge shrieks in agony. Under these conditions, about 62.5 percent of the subjects administered shock that they believed to be possibly lethal.

No tested individual differences between subjects predicted how many would continue to obey, and which would break off the experiment. When 40 psychiatrists predicted

how many of a group of 100 subjects would go on to give the lethal shock, their predictions were orders of magnitude below the actual percentages; most expected only one-tenth of one percent of the subjects to obey to the end.

But even though psychiatrists have no idea how people will behave in this situation, and even though individual differences do not predict which subjects will obey and which will not, it is easy to predict when subjects will be obedient and when they will be defiant. All the experimenter has to do is change the social situation. In a variant of Milgram's experiment, two stooges were present in addition to the "victim"; these worked along with the subject in administering electric shocks. When these two stooges refused to go on with the experiment, only ten percent of the subjects continued to the maximum voltage. This is critical for personality theory. It says that behavior is predicted from the social situation, not from the individual history.

Finally, an ingenious experiment by Schachter and Singer (1962) showed that subjects injected with adrenalin, which produces a state of physiological arousal in all but minor respects identical to that which occurs when subjects are extremely afraid, became euphoric when they were in a room with a stooge who was acting" euphoric, and became extremely angry when they were placed in a room with a stooge who was acting extremely angry.

To summarize: if subjects under quite innocuous and noncoercive social conditions can be made to kill other subjects and under other types of social conditions will positively refuse to do so; if subjects can react to a state of physiological fear by becoming euphoric because there is somebody else around who is euphoric or angry because there is somebody else around who is angry; if students become intelligent because teachers expect them to be intelligent, and rats run mazes better because experimenters are told the rats are bright, then it is obvious that a study of human behavior requires, first and foremost, a study of the social contexts within which people move, the expectations as to how they will behave, and the authority which tells them who they are and what they are supposed to do.

BIOLOGICALLY BASED THEORIES

Two theories of the nature of women, which come not from psychiatric and clinical tradition, but from biology, can be disposed of now with little difficulty. The first biological theory of sex differences argues that since females and males differ in their sex hormones, and sex hormones enter the brain (Hambury and Lunde in Maccoby, 1966), there must be innate differences in "nature." But the only thing this argument tells us is that there are differences in physiological state. The problem is whether these differences are at all relevant to behavior. Recall that Schachter and Singer (1962) have shown that a particular physiological state can itself lead to a multiplicity of felt emotional states, and outward behavior, depending on the social situation.

The second theory is a form of biological reductionism: sex-role behavior in some primate species is described, and it is concluded that this is the "natural" behavior for humans. Putting aside the not insignificant problem of observer bias (for instance, Harlow, 1962, of the University of Wisconsin, after observing differences between male and female rhesus monkeys, quotes Lawrence Sterne to the effect that women are silly and trivial, and concludes that "men and women have differed in the past and they will differ in the future"), there are a number of problems with this approach.

The most general and serious problem is that there are no grounds to assume that anything primates do is necessary, natural, or desirable in humans, for the simple reason that humans are not nonhumans. For instance, it is found that male chimpanzees placed along with infants will not "mother" them. Jumping from hard data to ideological speculation researchers conclude from this information that human females are necessary for the safe growth of human infants. It would be as reasonable to conclude, following this logic, that it is quite useless to teach human infants to speak, since it has been tried with chimpanzees and it does not work.

One strategy that has been used is to extrapolate from

primate behavior to "innate" human preference by noticing certain trends in primate behavior as one moves phylogenetically closer to humans. But there are great difficulties with this approach. When behaviors from lower primates are directly opposite to those of higher primates, or to those one expects of humans, they can be dismissed on evolutionary grounds—higher primates and/or humans grew out of that kid stuff. On the other hand, if the behavior of higher primates is counter to the behavior considered natural for humans, while the behavior of some lower primate is considered the natural one for humans, the higher primate behavior can be dismissed also, on the grounds that it has diverged from an older, prototypical pattern. So either way, one can select those behaviors one wants to prove as innate for humans. In addition, one does not know whether the sex-role behavior exhibited is dependent on the phylogenetic rank, or on the environmental conditions (both physical and social) under which different species live.

Is there then any value at all in primate observations as they relate to human females and males? There is a value but it is limited: its function can be no more than to show some extant examples of diverse sex-role behavior. It must be stressed, however, that this is an extremely limited function. The extant behavior does not begin to suggest all the possibilities, either for nonhuman primates or for humans. Bearing these caveats in mind, it is nonetheless interesting that if one inspects the limited set of existing nonhuman primate sex-role behaviors, one finds, in fact, a much larger range of sex-role behavior than is commonly believed to exist. "Biology" appears to limit very little; the fact that a female gives birth does not mean, even in nonhumans, that she necessarily cares for the infant (in marmosets, for instance, the male carries the infant at all times except when the infant is feeding [Mitchell, 1969]); "natural" female and male behavior varies all the way from females who are much more aggressive and competitive than males (e.g., Tamarins, see Mitchell, 1969) and male "mothers" (e.g., Titi monkeys, night monkeys, and marmosets, see Mitchell, 1969) 2 to

2 All these are lower-order primates, which makes their behavior with reference to humans unnatural, or more natural; take your choice.

submissive and passive females and male antagonists (e.g., rhesus monkeys).

But even for the limited function that primate arguments serve, the evidence has been misused. Invariably, only those primates have been cited which exhibit exactly the kind of behavior that the proponents of the biological basis of human female behavior wish were true for humans. Thus, baboons and rhesus monkeys are generally cited: males in these groups exhibit some of the most irritable and aggressive behavior found in primates, and if one wishes to argue that females are naturally passive and submissive, these groups provide vivid examples. There are abundant counterexamples, such as those mentioned above (Mitchell, 1969); in fact, in general, a counterexample can be found for every sex-role behavior cited, including, as mentioned in the case of marmosets, male "mothers." . But the presence of counterexamples has not stopped florid and overarching theories of the natural or biological basis of male privilege from proliferating. For instance, there have been a number of theories dealing with the innate incapacity in human males for monogamy. Here, as in most of this type of theorizing, baboons are a favorite example, probably because of their fantasy value: the family unit of the hamadryas baboon, for instance, consists of a highly constant pattern of one male and a number of females and their young. And again, the counterexamples, such as the invariably monogamous gibbon, are ignored.

An extreme example of this maiming and selective truncation of the evidence in the service of a plea for the maintenance of male privilege is a recent book, Men in Groups (1969), by a man who calls himself Tiger.3 The central claim of this book is that females are incapable of honorable collective action because they are incapable of "bonding" as in "male bonding." What is "male bonding"? Its surface definition is simple: "... a particular relationship between two or more males such that they react differently to members of their bonding units as compared to individuals outside of it" (pp. 19-20). If one deletes the word "male," the definition, on its face, would seem to include all organisms that have any kind of social organiza-

3 Schwarz-Belkin (1914) claims that the name was originally Mouse, but this may be a reference to an earlier L. Tiger (putative).

tion. But this is not what Tiger means. For instance, Tiger asserts that females are incapable of bonding; all this alleged incapacity indicates to Tiger that females should be restricted from public life. Why is bonding an exclusively male behavior? Because, says Tiger, it is seen in male primates. All male primates? No, very few male primates. Tiger cites two examples where male bonding is seen: rhesus monkeys and baboons. Surprise, surprise. But not even all baboons: as mentioned above, the hamadryas social organization consists of one-male units; so does that of the gelada baboon (Mitchell, 1969). And the great apes do not go in for male bonding much either. The "male bond" is hardly a serious contribution to scholarship; one reviewer for Science has observed that the book ". . . shows basically more semblance to a partisan political tract than to a work of objective social science," with male bonding being ". . . some kind of behavioral phlogiston" (Fried, 1969, p. 884).

In short, primate arguments have generally misused the evidence; primate studies themselves have, in any case, only the very limited function of describing some possible sex-role behavior; and at present, primate observations have been sufficiently limited so that even the range of possible sex-role behavior for nonhuman primates is not known. This range is not known since there is only minimal observation of what happens to behavior if the physical or social environment is changed. On one study (Itani, 1963), different troops of Japanese macaques were observed. Here, there appeared to be cultural differences; males in three out of the 18 troops observed differed in their amount of aggressiveness and infant-caring behavior. There could be no possibility of differential evolution here; the differences seemed largely transmitted by infant socialization. Thus, the very limited evidence points to some plasticity in the sex-role behavior of nonhuman primates; if we can figure out experiments which massively change the social organization of primate groups, it is possible that we might observe great changes in behavior. At present, however, we must conclude that, since nonhuman primates are too stupid to change their social conditions by themselves, the "innateness" and fixedness of their behavior is simply not known. Thus, even if there were some way, which there isn't, to settle on the be-

havior of a particular primate species as being the "natural" way for humans, we would not know whether or not this were simply some function of the present social organization of that species. And finally, once again it must be stressed that even if nonhuman primate behavior turned out to be relatively fixed, this would say little about our behavior. More immediate and relevant evidence, i.e., the evidence from social psychology, points to the enormous plasticity in human behavior, not only from one culture to the next, but from one experimental group to the next. One of the most salient features of human social organization is its variety; there are a number of cultures where there is at least a rough equality between men and women (Mead, 1949). In summary, primate arguments can tell us very little about our "innate" sex-role behavior; if they tell us anything at all, they tell us that there is no one biologically "natural" female or male behavior, and that sex-role behavior in nonhuman primates is much more varied than has previously been thought.

In brief, the uselessness of present psychology with regard to women is simply a special case of the general conclusion: one must understand social expectations about women if one is going to characterize the behavior of women.

How are women characterized in our culture, and in psychology? They are inconsistent, emotionally unstable, lacking in a strong conscience or superego, weaker, "nurturant" rather than productive, "intuitive" rather than intelligent, and, if they are at all "normal," suited to the home and the family. In short, the list adds up to a typical minority-group stereotype of inferiority (Hacker, 1951); if they know their place, which is in the home, they are really quite lovable, happy, childlike, loving creatures. In a review of the intellectual differences between little boys and little girls, Eleanor Maccoby (1966) has shown that there are no intellectual differences until about high school, or, if there are, girls are slightly ahead of boys. At high school, girls begin to do worse on a few intellectual tasks, such as arithmetic reasoning, and beyond high school, the achievement of women now measured in terms of productivity and accomplishment drops off even more rapidly. There are a number of other, nonintellectual tests which show sex differences; I chose the intellectual differences

since it is seen clearly that women start becoming inferior. It is no use to talk about women being different but equal; all of the tests I can think of have a "good" outcome and a "bad" outcome. Women usually end up at the "bad" outcome. In light of social expectations about women, what is surprising is not that women end up where society expects they will; what is surprising is that little girls don't get the message that they are supposed to be stupid until high school; and what is even more remarkable is that some women resist this message even after high school, college, and graduate school.

My paper began with remarks on the task of the discovery of the limits of human potential. Psychologists must realize that it is they who are limiting discovery of human potential. They refuse to accept evidence, if they are clinical psychologists, or, if they are rigorous, they assume that people move in a context-free ether, with only their innate dispositions and their individual traits determining what they will do. Until psychologists begin to respect evidence, and until they begin looking at the social contexts within which people move, psychology will have nothing of substance to offer in this task of discovery. I don't know what immutable differences exist between men and women apart from differences in their genitals; perhaps there are some other unchangeable differences; probably there are a number of irrelevant differences. But it is clear that until social expectations for men and women are equal, until we provide equal respect for both men and women, our answers to this question will simply reflect our prejudices.

references

astin, a.w. "The Functional Autonomy of Psychotherapy."

American Psychologist, 1961, 16, 75-78.

barron, f. and leary, t. "Changes in Psychoneurotic Patients with and without Psychotherany." Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1955, 19, 239-245.

bergin, a.e. "The Effects of Psychotherapy: Negative Results Revisited." Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1963, 10, 244-250.

bettelheim, b. "The Commitment Required of a Woman

Entering a Scientific Profession in Present-Day American Society." Woman and the Scientific Professions, The MIT Symposium on American Women in Science and Engineering, 1965.

block, j. "Some Reasons for the Apparent Inconsistency of

Personality." Psychological Bulletin, 1968, 70, 210-212.

cartwright, r.d. and vogel, j.l. "A Comparison of Changes in Psychoneurotic Patients During Matched Periods of Therapy and No-Therapy." Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1960, 24, 121-127.

erikson, e. "Inner and Outer Space: Reflections on Womanhood." Daedalus, 1964, 93, 582-606.

eysenck, h.j. "The Effects of Psychotherapy: An Evaluation."

Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1952, 16, 319-324.

fieldcrest—Advertisement in the New Yorker, 1965.

fried, m.h. "Mankind Excluding Woman," review of Tiger's

Men in Groups. Science, 1969, 165, 883-884.

freud, s. "The Sexual Enlightenment of Children. Collier

Books Edition, 1963.

Goldstein, a.p. and dean, s.j. The Investigation of Psychotherapy: Commentaries and Readings. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966.

Hamburg, d.a. and lunde, d.t. "Sex Hormones in the Development of Sex Differences in Human Behavior." In Maccoby, ed., The Development of Sex Differences. Stanford University Press, 1966, 1-24.

hacker, h.m. "Women as a Minority Group." Social Forces, 1951, 30, 60-69.

harlow, h.f. "The Heterosexual Affectional System in Monkeys." The American Psychologist, 1962, 17, 1-9.

hooker, e. "Male Homosexuality in the Rorschach." Journal

of Projective Techniques, 1957, 21, 18-31.

itani, j. "Paternal Care in the Wild Japanese Monkeys, Macaca fuscata." In C.H. Southwick, ed., Primate Social Behavior. Princeton: Van Nostrand,-1963.

little, k.b. and schneidman, e.s. "Congruences among Interpretations of Psychological and Anamestic Data." Psychological Monographs, 1959, 73, 1-42.

maccoby, elinor e. "Sex Differences in Intellectual Functioning." In Maccoby, ed., The Development of Sex Differences.

Stanford University Press, 1966, 25-55.

masters, w.h. and johnson, v.e. Human Sexual Response.

Boston: Little Brown, 1966.

mead, m. Male and Female: A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World. New York: William Morrow, 1949.

milgram, s. "Some Conditions of Obedience and Disobedience to Authority." Human Relations, 1965a, 18, 57-76.

milgram, s. "Liberating Effects of Group Pressure." Journal of

Personality and Social Psychology, 1965b, 1, 127^134.
Mitchell, g.d. "Paternalistic Behavior in Primates." Psychological Bulletin, 1969, 71, 399-417.

powers, e. and witmer, h. An Experiment in the Prevention of Delinquency. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.
rheingold, j. The Fear of Being a Woman. New York: Grune * & Stratton, 1964.

Rosenthal, r. "On the Social Psychology of the Psychological Experiment: The Experimenter's Hypothesis as Unintended Determinant of Experimental Results." American Scientist, 1963, 51, 268-283.

Rosenthal, r. Experimenter Effects in Behavioral Research.

New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1966.

Rosenthal, r. and jacobson, l. Pygmalion in the Classroom: Teacher Expectation and Pupil's Intellectual Development. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1968.

Rosenthal, r. and lawson, r. "A Longitudinal Study of the Effects of Experimenter Bias on the Operant Learning of Laboratory Rats." Unpublished manuscript, Harvard University, 1961.

Rosenthal, r. and fode, k.l. "The Effect of Experimenter Bias on the Performance of the Albino Rat." Unpublished manuscript, Harvard University, 1960.

rotter, j.b. "Psychotherapy." Annual Review of Psychology,

1960,11, 381-414.

schachter, s. and singer, j.e. "Cognitive, Social and Physiological Determinants of Emotional State." Psychological Review, 1962, 69, 379-399.

schwarz-belkin, m. "Les Fleurs de Mai." In Festschrift for

Gordon Piltdown. New York: Ponzi Press, 1914.

tiger, l. Men in Groups. New York: Random House, 1969.
truax, c.b. "Effective Ingredients in Psychotherapy: An Approach to Unraveling the Patient-Therapist Interaction." Journal of Consulting Psychology, 1963, 10, 256-263.

The Woman-Identified Woman

RADICALESBIANS

What is a lesbian? A lesbian is the rage of all women condensed to the point of explosion. She is the woman who, often beginning at an extremely early age, acts in accordance with her inner compulsion to be a more complete and freer human being than her society—perhaps then, but certainly later—cares to allow her. These needs and actions, over a period of years, bring her into painful conflict with people, situations, the accepted ways of thinking, feeling and behaving, until she is in a state of continual war with everything around her, and usually with herself. She may not be fully conscious of the political implications of what for her began as personal necessity, but on some level she has not been able to accept the limitations and oppression laid on her by the most basic role of her society—the female role. The turmoil she experiences tends to induce guilt proportional to the degree to which she feels she is not meeting social expectations, and/or eventually drives her to question and analyze what the rest of her society more or less accepts. She is forced to evolve her own life pattern, often living much of her life alone, learning usually much earlier than her "straight" (heterosexual) sisters about the essential aloneness of life (which the myth of marriage obscures) and about the reality of illusions. To the extent that she cannot expeTthe heavy socialization that goes with being female, she can never truly find peace with herself. For she is caught somewhere between accepting society's view of her—in which case she cannot accept herself—and coming to understand what this sexist society has done to her and why it is functional and necessary for it to do so. Those of us who work that through find ourselves on the other side of a

tortuous journey through a night that may have been decades long. TTie perspective gained from that journey, the liberation of self, the inner peace, the real love of self and of all women, is something to be shared with all women—because we are all women.

It should first be understood that lesbianism, like male homosexuality, is a category of behavior possible only in a sexist society characterized by rigid sex roles and dominated by male supremacy. Those sex roles dehumanize women by defining us as a supportive/serving caste in relation to the master caste of men, and emotionally cripple men by demanding that they be alienated from their own bodies and emotions in order to perform their economic/political/military functions effectively. Homosexuality is a by-product of a particular way of setting up roles (or approved patterns of behavior) on the basis of sex; as such it is an inauthentic (not consonant with "reality") category. In a society in which men do not oppress women, and sexual expression is allowed to follow feelings, the categories of homosexuality and heterosexuality would disappear.

But lesbianism is also different from male homosexuality, and serves a different function in the society. "Dyke" is a different kind of put-down from "faggot," although both imply you are not playing your socially assigned sex role . . . are not therefore a "real woman" or a "real man." The grudging admiration felt for the tomboy, and the queasiness felt around a sissy boy point to the same thing: the contempt in which women—or those who play a female role—are held. And the investment in keeping women in that contemptuous role is very great. Lesbian is the word, the label, the condition that holds women in line. When a woman hears this word tossed her way, she knows she is stepping out of line. She knows that she has crossed the terrible boundary of her sex role. She recoils, she protests, she reshapes her actions to gain approval. Lesbian is a label invested by the Man to throw at any woman who dares to be his equal, who dares to challenge his prerogatives (including that of all women as part of the exchange medium among men), who dares to assert the primacy of her own needs. To have the label applied to people active in women's liberation is just the most recent instance of a long history; older women will recall that not so long ago,

any woman who was successful, independent, not orienting her whole life about a man, would hear this word. For in this sexist society, for a woman to be independent means she cartt be a woman—she must be a dyke. That in itself should tell us where women are at. It says as clearly as can be said: women and person are contradictory terms. For a lesbian is not considered a "real woman." And yet, in popular thinking, there is really only one essential difference between a lesbian and other women: that of sexual orientation—which is to say, when you strip off all the packaging, you must finally realize that the essence of being a "woman" is to get fucked by men.

"Lesbian" is one of the sexual categories by which men have divided up humanity. While all women are dehumanized as sex objects, as the objects of men they are given certain compensations: identification with his power, his ego, his status, his protection (from other males), feeling like a "real woman," finding social acceptance by adhering to her role, etc. Should a woman confront herself by confronting another woman, there are fewer rationalizations, fewer buffers by which to avoid the stark horror of her dehumanized condition. Herein we find the overriding fear of many women towards exploring intimate relationships with other women: the fear of being used as a sexual object by a woman, which not only will bring her no male-connected compensations, but also will reveal the void which is woman's real situation. This dehumanization is expressed when a straight woman learns that a sister is a lesbian; she begins to relate to her lesbian sister as her potential sex object, laying a surrogate male role on the lesbian. This reveals her heterosexual conditioning to make herself into an object when sex is potentially invoked in a relationship, and it denies the lesbian her full humanity. For women, especially those in the movement, to perceive their lesbian sisters through this male grid of role definitions is to accept this male cultural conditioning and to oppress their sisters much as they themselves have been oppressed by men. Are we going to continue the male classification system of defining all females in sexual relation to some other category of people? Affixing the label "lesbian" not only to a woman who aspires to be a person, but also to any situation of real love, real solidarity, real primacy among women is a primary form of divisiveness among

women: it is the condition which keeps women within the confines of the feminine role, and it is the debunking/scare term that keeps women from forming any primary attachments, groups, or associations among ourselves.

Women in the movement have in most cases gone to great lengths to avoid discussion and confrontation with the issue of lesbianism. It puts people up-tight. They are hostile, evasive, or try to incorporate it into some "broader issue." They would rather not talk about it. If they have to, they try to dismiss it as a "lavender herring." But it is no side issue. It is absolutely essential to the success and fulfillment of the women's liberation movement that this issue be dealt with. As long as the label "dyke" can be used to frighten a woman into a less militant stand, keep her separate from her sisters, keep her from giving primacy to anything other than men and family—then to that extent she is controlled by the male culture. Until women see in each other the possibility of a primal commitment which includes sexual love, they will be denying themselves the love and value they readily accord to men, thus affirming their second-class status. As long as male acceptability is primary—both to individual women and to Jhe movement as a whole—the term "lesbian" will be used effectively against women. Insofar as women want only more privileges within the system, they do not want to antagonize male power. They instead seek acceptability for women's liberation, and the most crucial aspect of the acceptability is to deny lesbianism—i.e., deny any fundamental challenge to the basis of the female role.

It should also be said that some younger, more radical women have honestly begun to discuss lesbianism, but so far it has been primarily as a sexual "alternative" to men. This, however, is still giving primacy to men, both because the idea of relating more completely to women occurs as a negative reaction to men, and because the lesbian relationship is being characterized simply by sex which is divisive and sexist. On one level, which is both personal and political, women may withdraw emotional and sexual energies from men, and work out various alternatives for those energies in their own lives. On a different political/psychological level, it must be understood that what is crucial is that women begin disengaging

from male-defined response patterns. In the privacy of our own psyches, we must cut those cords to the core. For irrespective of where our love and sexual energies flow, if we are male-identified in our heads, we cannot realize our autonomy as human beings.

But why is it that women have related to and through men? By virtue of having been brought up in a male society, we have internalized the male culture's definition of ourselves. That definition views us as relative beings who exist not for ourselves, but for the servicing, maintenance and comfort of men. That definition consigns us to sexual and family functions, and excludes us from defining and shaping the terms of our lives. In exchange for our psychic servicing and for performing society's nonprofit-making functions, the man confers on us just one thing: the slave status which makes us legitimate in the eyes of the society in which we live. This is called "femininity" or "being a real woman" in our cultural lingo. We are authentic, legitimate, real to the extent that we are the property of some man whose name we bear. To be a woman who belongs to no man is to be invisible, pathetic, inauthentic, unreal. He confirms his image of us—of what we have to be in order to be acceptable by him—but not our real selves; he confirms our womanhood—as he defines it, in relation to him—but cannot confirm our personhood, our own selves as absolutes. As long as we are dependent on the male culture for this definition, for this approval, we cannot be free.

The consequence of internalizing this role is an enormous reservoir of self-hate. This is not to say the self-hate is recognized or accepted as such; indeed most women would deny it. It may be experienced as discomfort with her role, as feeling empty, as numbness, as restlessness, a paralyzing anxiety at the center. Alternatively, it may be expressed in shrill defensiveness of the glory and destiny of her role. But it does exist, often beneath the edge of her consciousness, poisoning her existence, keeping her alienated from herself, her own needs, and rendering her a stranger to other women. They try to escape by identifying with the oppressor, living through him, gaining status and identity from his ego, his power, his accomplishments. And by not identifying with other "empty vessels" like themselves. Women resist relating on all levels to other

women who will reflect their own oppression, their own secondary status, their own self-hate. For to confront another woman is finally to confront one's self—the self we have gone to such lengths to avoid. And in that mirror we know we cannot really respect and love that which we have been made to be.

As the source of self-hate and the lack of real self are rooted in our male-given identity, we must create a new sense of self. As long as we cling to the idea of "being a woman," we will sense some conflict with that incipient self, that sense of I, that sense of a whole person. It is very difficult to realize and accept that being "feminine" and being a whole person are irreconcilable. Only women can give each other a new sense of self. That identity we have to develop with reference to ourselves, and not in relation to men. This consciousness is the revolutionary force fronv which all else will follow, for ours is an organic revolution. For this we must be available and supportive to one another, give our commitment and our love, give the emotional support necessary to sustain this movement. Our energies must flow toward our sisters, not backwards toward our oppressors. As long as women's liberation tries to free women without facing the basic heterosexual structure that binds us in one-to-one relationship with our own oppressors, tremendous energies will continue to flow into trying to straighten up each particular relationship with a man, how to get better sex, how to turn his head around—into trying to make the "new man" out of him, in the delusion that this will allow us to be the "new woman." This obviously splits our energies and commitments, leaving us unable to be committed to the construction of the new patterns which will liberate us.

It is the primacy of women relating to women, of women creating a new consciousness of and with each other which is at the heart of women's liberation, and the basis for the cultural revolution. Together we must find, reinforce and Validate our authentic selves. As we do this, we confirm in each other that struggling, incipient sense of pride and strength, the divisive barriers begin to melt, we feel this growing solidarity with our sisters. We see ourselves as prime, find our centers inside of ourselves. We find receding the sense of alienation, of being cut off, of being behind a locked window, of being unable to get out

what we know is inside. We feel a realness, feel at last we are coinciding with ourselves. With that real self, with that consciousness, we begin a revolution to end the imposition of all coercive identifications, and to achieve maximum autonomy in human expression.

The Education of Women

FLORENCE HOWE

Recently, on a train, a Goucher College student met the editor of a relatively new magazine. "Why don't we get your magazine?" she queried.

"Isn't Goucher a girls' school?"

"Sure, but what's that got to do with it?"

"Well, we didn't think you'd be interested—it's about careers."

This is a perfectly commonplace attitude. Even in 1969, it is assumed that women who go to college are generally sitting out four years of their lives before becoming wives and mothers. During my nine years at Goucher, I have found little encouragement for any other view. Unfortunately, statistics bear me out only too well. Though more women than ever before go to college, and even receive degrees, fewer proportionately go on to graduate school. The faculties of colleges and universities naturally reflect this condition: there are fewer women on the faculties of women's colleges than there were in the 1930s; the percentage of women on the faculty of the University of Chicago has dropped from eight percent at the end of the nineteenth century to a recent low of two percent; and a number of university departments are searching currently for their token female. And as studies continue to show, when men and women of comparable education and experience are employed, women's salaries and rates of promotion are significantly inferior to men's. In spite of a

century of sporadic hue and cry about women's rights, and in spite of our rhetoric about the equality of women, even in spite of the pill and the recent outburst of women's liberation groups, women remain a passive majority of second-class citizens.

Our education is chiefly to blame, but of course after one has said that, one must add at once that education reflects the values of our society and is to a major extent controlled by those values. That is to say that we do not think of our girl students as we do our boys—and this is true from the beginning of their school years as well as on to graduate school, where women are openly discriminated against for reasons which I do not here need to list. What would happen to men if women were, indeed, allowed to compete in a system equally open to them? This is, of course, a rhetorical question, since it is not likely to happen. We do know that white men, in our culture, are by and large loath to compete with black men, and our friends tell us that women will have to wait until those male racial and economic problems are solved.

Economic and political problems cannot, obviously, be solved by educational institutions. But colleges can educate their students quite deliberately to those problems, and even, if they will, to work toward their solution. Generally speaking, the purpose of those responsible for the education of women has been to perpetuate their subordinate status. There is a hoary story still being told about the difference between educating men and women. It goes like this: "When you educate a man, you educate an individual, but when you educate a woman, you educate a family." Obviously, the story is meant to compliment women as traditional carriers of culture. But more to the point is the role that woman is channeled into by her culture. The question of purpose in education is dependent upon a prior notion of hierarchy. Put another way, education is prophecy fulfilled: imagine women educated for a push-button household and a consumer's life and you create institutions to effect that. To illustrate, I want to look at the views of five men—I choose men because for the most part they have been responsible for our history and our education.

First, Plato and Aristotle, who illustrate two poles: the revolutionary believer in equality between the sexes and

the conservative believer in the inferiority of women. Plato, as revolutionary, writes in the Republic, "There is no occupation concerned with the management of social affairs which belongs either to woman or to man, as such. Natural gifts are to be found here and there in both creatures alike; and every occupation is open to both, so far as their natures are concerned." He concludes, therefore, that "we shall not have one education for men and another for women, precisely because the nature to be taken in hand is the same." When he describes roles for women, he allows them "their full share with men" in all areas of life, "whether they stay at home or go out to war." He continues, "Such conduct will not be unwomanly, but all for the best and in accordance with the natural partnership of the sexes." Obviously, Plato's notions have not only not prevailed; they are hardly known today.

To read Aristotle on the same subject is to learn how little a student may learn from a teacher. For to the question "Why educate women?" Aristotle would have answered, "Certainly not." This is his key statement, from the Politics: "We may thus conclude that it is a general law that there should be naturally ruling elements and elements naturally ruled. . . . The rule of the freeman over the slave is one kind of rule; that of the male over the female another. . . . The slave is entirely without the faculty of deliberation; the female indeed possesses it, but in a form which remains inconclusive. ... It is thus clear that while moral goodness is a quality of all the persons mentioned, the fact still remains that temperance—and similarly fortitude and justice—are not, as Socrates held, the same in a woman as they are in a man." Aristotle thus offers no education to women. Or if we think of her in a category close to the slave's, only such education as will make her more useful to man, her master. The defining of capability—or "role definition"—controls education. And Aristotle's voice has prevailed. He and the early Church fathers settled the noneducation of women for nearly two thousand years.

Milton's is a useful voice to illustrate the perpetuation of woman's subordinate status in a form somewhat more subtle than Aristotle's. In fact, Milton is my favorite example of such a view, one that I find still dominant

today. To Goucher students, I usually say, Study him closely: he is the enemy. You must understand your enemy if you are to defeat him. Women are teachable, Milton says, though just barely and only under careful conditions. Certainly, they need to be observed and looked after constantly or trouble may follow, as it did for Eve in the garden. But the order is plain enough: God teaches man and man teaches woman, just a bit of this or that, enough to keep her in her place. Milton's main idea is hierarchy: woman is subordinate in status, inferior in intellect, and even less reliable than man in matters of the heart.

In matters of the heart, Jonathan Swift has argued, either sex might claim distinction—for foolishness and corruption. "I am ignorant of any one quality," he writes in "A Letter to a Young Lady on her Marriage," "that is amiable in a Man, which is not equally so in a Woman; I do not except Modesty and Gentleness of Nature. Nor do I know one Vice.or Folly which is not equally detestable in both." If women are more full of "nonsense and frippery" than men, their parents are to blame for failing "to cultivate" their minds. "It is a little hard," Swift continues, "that not one Gentleman's daughter in a thousand should be brought to read or understand her own natural Tongue, or be judge of the easiest Books that are written in it. . . ." Swift's remedy is to offer himself as tutor for the young lady in question; in Gulliver's Travels, he recommends education for both sexes.

When I asked my students what they thought of Swift—expecting at least some delight or surprise at his modernity—one sophomore said, "Why, he's insulting. I didn't like him at all." She added that his attitude was patronizing and demeaning: "He doesn't care anything about the girl. All he cares about is that she please her husband. That's why he wants her to be able to read. So that she can carry on a conversation with him."

Marianne's sharp disgust surprised me and some of the other students present, one of whom commented gently and slightly in wonderment: "But that's just why I'm going to college and taking English courses. My boy friend is at college and I think that I should be able to keep up to his interests and his friends. You know, I want to know what he's talking and thinking about."

Both students had in mind a passage in which Swift offers his young lady a rationale for the education of her intellect: "to acquire or preserve the Friendship and Esteem of a Wise Man, who soon grows weary of acting the Lover and treating his Wife like a Mistress, but wants a reasonable Companion, and a true Friend through every Stage of his Life. It must be therefore your Business to qualify yourself for those Offices." That is, to function interestingly for one's husband—or children. The question of self or vocation is entirely absent, as it is from the concerns of the majority of women in college today.

About a hundred years after Swift wrote his essay, Harriet Taylor and John Stuart Mill began a long and complex intellectual relationship, one of the results of which was a book that Mill published in 1869 called The Subjection of Women. Like Swift, Mill believed that sexual differences do not entirely, if at all, control the intellect. Women are not a separate and lesser species but, as Mill put it, they are a separate class or caste, created and controlled by men through a process of socialization that includes depriving women of education.

I want to quote from Mill's book at some length because I think it is still the best single piece of analysis and because it is his only significant work not available in paperback. First, his argument about the alleged inferiority of woman's "nature:"

Standing on the ground of common sense and the constitution of the human mind, I deny that anyone knows, or can know, the nature of the two sexes, as long as they have only been seen in their present relation to one another. If man had ever been found in society without women, or women without men, or if there had been a society of men and women in which the women were not under the control of the men, something might have been positively known about the mental and moral differences which may be inherent in the nature of each. What is now called the nature of women is an eminently artificial thing—the result of forced repression in some directions, unnatural stimulation in others. It may be asserted without scruple, that no other class of dependents have had their

character so entirely distorted from its natural proportions by their relation with their masters. . . .

Women's relations with their "masters," according to Mill, are unique for an "enslaved class," for two reasons: their universality in time and space, their perpetuation seemingly without "force." "The subjection of women to men being a universal custom," Mill begins urbanely, "any departure from it quite naturally appears unnatural." On the other hand, most women accept their state. In fact, "All causes, social and natural, combine to make it unlikely that women should be collectively rebellious to the power of men." Thence follows an analysis by a "master" of the master's point of view: Mill begins,

Women are so far in a position different from all other subject classes, that their masters require something more from them than actual service. Men do not want solely the obedience of women, they want their sentiments. All men, except the most brutish, desire to have, in the women most nearly connected with them, not a forced slave but a willing one, not a slave merely, but a favorite. They have therefore put everything in practice to enslave their minds. The masters of all other slaves rely, for maintaining obedience, on fear—either fear of themselves, or religious fears. The masters of women wanted more than simple obedience, and they turned the whole force of education to effect their purpose. All women are brought up from the very earliest years in the belief that their ideal of character is the very opposite to that of men; not self-will and government by self-control, but submission and yielding to the control of others. All the moralities tell them that it is the duty of women, and all the current sentimentalities that it is their nature, to live for others, to make complete abnegation of themselves, and to have no life but in their affections. And by their affections are meant the only ones that they are allowed to have—those to the men with whom they are connected, or to the children who constitute an additional and indefeasible tie between them and a man. When we put together three things—first, the natural attraction between opposite sexes; secondly,

the wife's entire dependence on the husband, every privilege or pleasure she has being either his gift, or depending entirely on his will; and lastly, that the principal object of human pursuit, consideration, and all objects of social ambition, can in general be sought or obtained by her only through him, it would be a miracle if the object of being attractive to men had not become the polar star of feminine education and formation of character. And this great means of influence over the minds of women having been acquired, an instinct of selfishness made men avail themselves of it to the utmost as a means of holding women in subjection, by representing to them meekness, submissiveness, and resignation of all individual will into the hands of a man, as an essential part of sexual attractiveness.

Mill concludes this section of his book by summarizing: In no instance except this, which comprehends half the human race, are the higher social functions closed against anyone by a fatality of birth which no exertions, and no change of circumstances can overcome; for even religious disabilities ... do not close any career to the disqualified person in case of conversion. The remedies Mill proposes are changes in law and the opening of educational and vocational opportunities to women. His ideal is "freedom of individual choice" regardless of sex: If the principle is true, we ought to act as if we believed it, and not to ordain that to be born a girl instead of a boy, any more than to be born black instead of white, or a commoner instead of a nobleman, shall decide the person's position through all life—shall interdict people from all the more elevated social positions, and from all, except a few, respectable occupations.

It is a pity to spoil Mill's peroration with a sour note, but he makes, in the end, a nineteenth-century distinction between married and unmarried women. Whatever her talents and inclinations, the married woman ought to stay at home—for practical reasons at least. No housekeeper can replace her with economy and efficiency both. When he pleads for woman's presence in the university and at the bar, Mill is pleading for the unmarried woman alone.

Obviously, in 1969 we do not officially hold to Mill's distinction between married and unmarried women. And yet our suburban style of life institutionalizes Mill's notion of economy: by the time a woman pays for a baby-sitter and a commuter's ticket, she might just as well stay at home. In fact, though our forms may look different, essentials have not been altered for the majority of women since Mill's day. And some beliefs about us harken back to Aristotle and Milton, though now they are part of the unconscious of college-educated females. For example, the basic assumption about women's biological inferiority, dealt what one might have expected to be a death blow in the 1940s by Simone de Beauvoir, comes to college annually in the heads and hearts of freshmen women.

Four years ago, I began to use as a theme in a freshman writing course "the identity of woman." Some of the corollary reading assigned has included D.H. Lawrence's Sons and Lovers, Elizabeth Bowen's The Death of the Hearty Doris Lessing's The Golden Notebook, Mary McCarthy's The Group, Kate Chopin's The Awakening, Simone de Beauvoir's The Second Sex, a collection of essays entitled Women in America, and Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man. In every class I have taught, someone has asked, "Why are our books only by women?" or "Why do we have to read mostly women writers—they're always inferior to men." Even in something as simple as, athletics, girls have been eager to point out that female swimmers are inevitably inferior to male swimmers. Only once in all the classes I have taught did a student point out that males of some cultures, say Vietnam, may be physically "weaker" than females of another culture, say the Soviet Union or the U.S. And I have typically received lengthy essays "proving" that women must be inferior since in the whole length of recorded history so few have been truly great. At the same time, I should point out that a questionnaire I used did not verify the impressions I gain from class discussion and student themes. It was as though the students answered the questionnaire in terms of what was "supposed to be."

The same split occurred with regard to the question of women's social equality. On paper, the students indicated a belief in its existence. In class and on themes, they gave evidence that they lived their lives in the chains Mill

described and analyzed. Their dependence on male approval came out particularly in discussions of coeducation, though with varying degrees of openness and consciousness. Close to the surface and freely aired was the question of dressing for boys. It was a relief, students said, to be able to live whole days at Goucher in jeans and no makeup. And they joked about looking very different—sometimes unrecognizably so—when they left the campus for a date or a weekend. Very few students said that they dressed in a particular way to please themselves. Much more difficult to get at was the deeper question of sexual role in the classroom's intellectual life. I have had only a few students able to say, as one did this year, at the beginning of an essay, "Men distract me." In fact, that was why she had come to Goucher. In high school classes, .Virginia became aware of her unwillingness to be herself: either she was silly or silent. Here at Goucher, she said, she was able to say what she thought without worry about what boys would think of her. Moreover, she was going to be a lawyer because that was the most "male" occupation she could think of. She wanted to show that she could do what any man could. If she could manage that, then she could be "independent," and that, she said, was a meaningful goal.

Virginia is an exception. Obviously women go to college today in numbers that would boggle Mill's brain. But most come without genuine purpose, or, when they discover purpose, it is in Mill's or Swift's terms. About halfway through one term, my freshmen were talking about the motivation of a character in a story by Doris Lessing. Joan tried to make a point about the complexities of motivation by saying that she had come to Goucher only because her parents had wanted her to go to college and this was as good a place as any and that for nearly a whole term she had been wondering what she was doing here, but now she understood what her purpose might be, not only here but for the rest of her life. The class hung on her words, but she grew suddenly shy of naming her discovery. Finally she said, "Enjoyment. I think I am here to enjoy not myself but life—and also later on, after I get out of college." Joan was immediately chastised for "selfishness": "The purpose of life," another student said, "is to help other people." Most of the 20 students sitting in the circle proceeded to take sides; a few tried to reconcile the two positions:

"helping other people" might itself be enjoyable. "If you enjoyed tutoring in Baltimore slums," one girl retorted, "then you weren't doing your job properly." The discussion raged as few classroom discussions do. I said nothing, except at the end when we had to stop for supper. Then I commented that no one had mentioned, in more than an hour, earning money or having an ambition or vocation; no one had talked about the fulfillment of her identity ki terms of satisfying and useful work. The girls were not particularly astonished; my terms meant very little to them, at least at that time. The girls who were most numerous and most vocal were those who thought that "service" or "helping people" should be performed for its own sake, because that was morally right, not as an enjoyable act for the individual to perform or for any other reason. This is the woman-slave mentality that Mill was describing a hundred years ago.

It is clear that a social order sends girls to college who are generally unconscious of their position in that society. And on the whole, colleges do very little to sort out the conflicts girls feel. How can they please themselves and please their (future) husbands and/or satisfy the demands of class and society? Their conflicts have grown sharper, more fierce and destructive, since Mill's day. For women a hundred years ago, the problem was to fight for the right to an education or to be allowed to vote. Women have these rights. But in fact a woman is—unless she closes her eyes completely—pulled terrifically in two opposing directions. They are not parallel lines: marriage and career.

On the one hand, she is still playing with dolls, dressing to suit boys, and pretending to be dumb in a coed high school class. She is still a continual disappointment to her mama if she returns from college each term without an engagement ring. She wants—and naturally so—to get married and have children. To assume that a career would not conflict with marriage and child-rearing, at least as our present society is arranged, is an error.

On the other hand, her college education assumes that even if she is not going on to a career or graduate school, she should specialize for two years in some particular area of knowledge. The curriculum, moreover, doesn't help her to work out the dual roles she may have to assume, that is,

if she is not simply a housewife. It assumes, largely, that the problem doesn't exist. The curriculum is geared to vocation, however narrowly conceived. An English major will send you to graduate schools, for example. But nothing I can think of at Goucher prepared women for marriage or motherhood.

Why do we educate women? Cynically, I might answer, to keep them off the streets. Certainly, we are not thinking of them even as we do think of men—as the future engineers and administrators of a complex bureaucracy. Then why design curricula for women that are remarkably similar to those for men? Why, especially when they and their teachers assume a lesser degree of serious intellectual commitment from female than from male students, even from those avoiding the draft. I have heard a few male professors at women's colleges candidly admit either the "ease" with which it is possible to teach women or the "bore" it is. And women like me fret about the "passivity" of our students. But mostly we do little to promote a re-awakening or an altering of students' or faculty's con-sciousness. "There, there," one professor was overheard saying to a weeping freshman, "don't cry about that paper. In a few years, you'll be washing dishes and you won't even remember this course."

I have spent a lot of time on the purpose of education because I think that we must be conscious of our motives. Are we, as one student put it recently, educating girls to become "critical housewives"? I for one am not, not at least any more than Hopkins' professors are educating "critical husbands." We can do better than that for our students and I think we should. Women and men both need work lives and private relationships. Women need to be educated for consciousness about themselves as members of a society they can learn to change. Even if women are to spend some years of their lives at home with small children part or all of the day, these are few years when compared to a lifetime. Without what I call a "work-identity," moreover, women, their families, and society generally lose a great deal.

But now I want to turn to the means: what can colleges do for the education of women? I am not speaking simply of women's colleges, for even if we were to inaugurate

instant coeducation, the problems would remain the same. If we consider the candor with which some administrators of hitherto male colleges have discussed the function of incoming female students, in fact, the problems may multiply. As one dean put it to me, "The girls will keep our men on campus weekends." The three programmatic suggestions that follow are aimed at coeducational institutions as well as women's colleges. The first two are curricular in nature.

1. The most traditional approach is to recruit women to programs hitherto open chiefly to men (e.g., architecture, engineering, international relations) or to create new institutions to train women professionally in those careers. For example, a woman's college might add to its campus a school of architecture that gives graduate degrees. By and large, this is the way that the education of women has proceeded in the past, though women have been channeled into nursing, teaching, social work, rather than allegedly "male" careers. I do not wish to disparage this procedure—obviously it is useful that it continue—but by itself it can do little more than to open doors for handfuls of individual women, leaving the bulk of their sisters behind. Philosophically, moreover, it does nothing more than to say, See, women can be architects, if you, the male world, will allow them to be. We know that already.

2. The second approach is one that has come historically out of the civil rights movement, and recently out of an analogy to black and third-world studies programs: the development of consciousness about the psychology and sociology of sexual differentiation in Western and other societies. A freshman study program that combines literature, sociology, psychology, and history, would usefully introduce the subject to students; interdepartmental women's studies programs may be devised or particular courses (e.g., in the history or sociology of women) be added to existing departmental offerings. I value this curricular direction because it calls not for competition with men but for the growth of understanding by both men and women about how society is arranged. Such understanding is essential to intelligent action for social change as opposed to individual advancement.

3. The third suggestion would commit the institution to educate the rest of its members. That is, the administration

of a college, the procedures and literature of its admissions or vocational placement offices, for example, ought to reflect a conscious militancy about the education of women. The education of faculty members and administrators, male and female together, would support and promote the curricular program suggested for students. Such a program would not be easy to arrange. It is difficult, in reality, for men to see women as their replacements. And women who have come up through the usual channels of individual competition with men may not readily understand the need to reexamine their perceptions about sexual differentiation.

Needless to say, instituting a series of programs at one or even several colleges can hardly correct a condition that is fundamental to our society. But colleges can raise consciousness and offer students some tools with which to solve problems as well as the optimism necessary for any political solution.

VI. Control of Our Bodies

Male supremacist ideology is alive and well in health services in this country. Traditionally, entrance into medical schools was reserved for privileged white men, more recently it has included middle-class and token minority-group men, and only a very few women. The nurse becomes the incarnation of the woman-behind-the-man theme, the one who assists and cleans up. Since hospitals are run like corporations, and the primary concern is profit, people become the commodities. We therefore must pay enormous fees for the natural functions of our bodies—the maximum amount of attention we get for having a baby is when we are presented with the bill. It is a rare woman who is told how to avoid the pain of childbirth or informed about what happens to our bodies during pregnancy and childbirth.

The double standard in sex pats a man on the back for his "conquests" and condemns the woman for being a participant. Unwanted pregnancy is the "price" society tells women we must pay for having sex. Twenty thousand women die each year from butchered abortions, while abortion laws continue to be controlled by legislative bodies of tired old men.

Women's liberationists are saying we must be educated about sex in constructive ways, that the double standard in sex must end as well as the myths that have been perpetrated, that preventive medicine should be mandatory, that free, community-controlled abortion, birth-control information and health care should be a natural right, and that birth-control and sterilization experiments on poor women here and abroad must stop.

The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm

ANNE KOEDT

Whenever female orgasm and frigidity are discussed, a false distinction is made between the vaginal and the clitoral orgasm. Frigidity has generally been defined by men as the failure of women to have vaginal orgasms. Actually the vagina is not a highly sensitive area and is not constructed to achieve orgasm. It is the clitoris which is the center of sexual sensitivity and which is the female equivalent of the penis.

I think this explains a great many things: first of all, the fact that the so-called frigidity rate among women is phenomenally high. Rather than tracing female frigidity to the false assumptions about female anatomy, our "experts" have declared frigidity a psychological problem of women. Those women who complained about it were recommended psychiatrists, so that they might discover their "problem"—diagnosed generally as a failure to adjust to their role as women.

The facts of female anatomy and sexual response tell a different story. There is only one area for sexual climax, although there are many areas for sexual arousal; that area is the clitoris. All orgasms are extensions of sensation from this area. Since the clitoris is not necessarily stimulated sufficiently in the conventional sexual positions, we are left "frigid."

Aside from physical stimulation, which is the common cause of orgasm for most people, there is also stimulation through primarily mental processes. Some women, for example, may achieve orgasm through sexual fantasies or through fetishes. However, while the stimulation may be psychological, the orgasm manifests itself physically. Thus, while the cause is psychological, the effect is still physical,

and the orgasm necessarily takes place in the sexual organ equipped for sexual climax—the clitoris. The orgasm experience may also differ in degree of intensity—some more localized, and some more diffuse and sensitive. But they are all clitoral orgasms.

All this leads to some interesting questions about conventional sex and our role in it. Men have orgasms essentially by friction with the vagina, not the clitoral area, which is external and not able to cause friction the way penetration does. Women have thus been defined sexually in terms of what pleases men; our own biology has not been properly analyzed. Instead, we are fed the myth of the liberated woman and her vaginal orgasm—an orgasm which in fact does not exist.

What we must do is redefine our sexuality. We must discard the "normal" concepts of sex and create new guidelines which take into account mutual sexual enjoyment. While the idea of mutual enjoyment is liberally applauded in marriage manuals, it is not followed to its logical conclusion. We must begin to demand that if certain sexual positions now defined as "standard" are not mutually conducive to orgasm, they no longer be defined as standard. New techniques must be used or devised which transform this particular aspect of our current sexual exploitation.

FREUD—A FATHER OF THE VAGINAL ORGASM

Freud contended that the clitoral orgasm was adolescent, and that upon puberty, when women began having intercourse with men, women should transfer the center of orgasm to the vagina. The vagina, it was assumed, was able to produce a parallel, but more mature, orgasm than the clitoris. Much work was done to elaborate on this theory, but little was done to challenge the basic assumptions.

To fully appreciate this incredible invention, perhaps Freud's general attitude about women should first be recalled. Mary Ellman, in Thinking About Women, summed it up this way:

Everything in Freud's patronizing and fearful attitude toward women follows from their lack of a penis, but it is only in his essay The Psychology of Women that Freud makes explicit. . . the deprecations of women which are implicit in his work. He then prescribes for them the abandonment of the life of the mind, which will interfere with their sexual function. When the psychoanalyzed patient is male, the analyst sets himself the task of developing the man's capacities; but with women patients, the job is to resign them to the limits of their sexuality. As Mr. Rieff puts it: For Freud, "analysis cannot encourage in women new energies for success and achievement, but only teach them the lesson of rational resignation."

It was Freud's feelings about women's secondary and inferior relationship to men that formed the basis for his theories on female sexuality.

Once having laid down the law about the nature of our sexuality, Freud not so strangely discovered a tremendous problem of frigidity in women. His recommended cure for a woman who was frigid was psychiatric care. She was suffering from failure to mentally adjust to her "natural" role as a woman. Frank S. Caprio, a contemporary follower of these ideas, states: ". . . Whenever a woman is incapable of achieving an orgasm via coitus, provided her husband is an adequate partner, and prefers clitoral stimulation to any other form of sexual activity, she can be regarded as suffering from frigidity and requires psychiatric assistance" (The Sexually Adequate Female, p. 64). The explanation given was that women were envious of men—"renunciation of womanhood." Thus it was diagnosed as an antimale phenomenon.

It is important to emphasize that Freud did not base his theory upon a study of woman's anatomy, but rather upon his assumptions of woman as an inferior appendage to man, and her consequent social and psychological role. In their attempts to deal with the ensuing problem of mass frigidity, Freudians created elaborate mental gymnastics. Marie Bonaparte, in Female Sexuality, goes so far as to suggest surgery to help women back on their rightful path. Having discovered a strange connection between the nonfrigid woman and the location of the clitoris near the vagina,

it then occurred to me that where, in certain women, this gap was excessive, and clitoridal fixation obdurate, a clitoridal-vaginal reconciliation might be effected by surgical means, which would then benefit the normal erotic function. Professor Halban, of Vienna, as much a biologist as surgeon, became interested in the problem and worked out a simple operative technique. In this, the suspensory ligament of the clitoris was severed and the clitoris secured to the underlying structures, thus fixing it in a lower position, with eventual reduction of the labia minora" [p. 148.]

But the severest damage was not in the area of surgery, where Freudians ran around absurdly trying to change female anatomy ^to fit their basic assumptions. The worst damage was done to the mental health of women, who either suffered silently with self-blame, or flocked to the psychiatrists looking desperately for the hidden and terrible repression that kept from them their vaginal destiny.

LACK OF EVIDENCE?

One may perhaps at first claim that these are unknown and unexplored areas, but upon closer examination this is certainly not true today, nor was it true even in the past. For example, men have known that women suffered from frigidity often during intercourse. So the problem was there. Also, there is much specific evidence. Men knew that the clitoris was and is the essential organ for masturbation, whether in children or adult women. So obviously women made it clear where they thought their sexuality was located. Men also seem suspiciously aware of the clitoral powers during "foreplay," when they want to arouse women and produce the necessary lubrication for penetration. Foreplay is a concept created for male purposes, but works to the disadvantage of many women, since as soon as the woman is aroused the man changes to vaginal stimulation, leaving her both aroused and unsatisfied.

It has also been known that women need no anesthesia inside the vagina during surgery, thus pointing to the fact that the vagina is in fact not a highly sensitive area.

Today, with extensive knowledge of anatomy, with Kinsey, and Masters and Johnson, to mention just a few sources, there is no ignorance on the subject. There are, however, social reasons why this knowledge has not been popularized. We are living in a male society which has not sought change in women's role.

ANATOMICAL EVIDENCE

Rather than starting with what women ought to feel, it would seem logical to start out with the anatomical facts regarding the clitoris and vagina.

The Clitoris is a small equivalent of the penis, except for the fact that the urethra does not go through it as in the man's penis. Its erection is similar to the male erection, and the head of the clitoris has the same type of structure and function as the head of the penis. G. Lombard Kelly, in Sexual Feeling and Married Men and Women, says:

> The head of the clitoris is also composed of erectile tissue, and it possesses a very sensitive epithelium or surface covering, supplied with special nerve endings called genital corpuscles, which are peculiarly adapted for sensory stimulation that under proper mental conditions terminates in the sexual orgasm. No other part of the female generative tract has such corpuscles. [Pocketbooks; p. 35.]

The clitoris has no other function than that of sexual pleasure.

The Vagina—Its functions are related to the reproductive function. Principally, (1) menstruation, (2) receive penis, (3) hold semen, and (4) birth passage. The interior of the vagina, which according to the defenders of the vaginally caused orgasm is the center and producer of the orgasm, is "like nearly all other internal body structures, poorly supplied with end organs of touch. The internal entodermal origin of the lining of the vagina makes it similar in this respect to the rectum and other parts of the digestive tract" (Kinsey, Sexual Behavior in the Human Female, p. 580). The degree of insensitivity inside the

vagina is so high that "among the women who were tested in our gynecologic sample, less than 14 percent were at all conscious that they had been touched" (Kinsey, p. 580).

Even the importance of the vagina as an erotic center (as opposed to an orgasmic center) has been found to be minor.

Other Areas—Labia minora and the vestibule of the vagina. These two sensitive areas may trigger off a clitoral orgasm. Because they can be effectively stimulated during "normal" coitus, though infrequent, this kind of stimulation is incorrectly thought to be vaginal orgasm. However, it is important to distinguish between areas which can stimulate the clitoris, incapable of producing the orgasm themselves, and the clitoris: "Regardless of what means of excitation is used to bring the individual to the state of sexual climax, the sensation is perceived by the genital corpuscles and is localized where they are situated: in the head of the clitoris or penis" (Kelly, p. 49).

Psychologically Stimulated Orgasm—Aside from the above-mentioned direct and indirect stimulations of the clitoris, there is a third way an orgasm may be triggered. This is through mental (cortical) stimulation, where the imagination stimulates the brain, which in turn stimulates the genital corpuscles of the glans to set off an orgasm.

WOMEN WHO SAY THEY HAVE VAGINAL ORGASMS

Confusion—Because of the lack of knowledge of their own anatomy, some women accept the idea that an orgasm felt during "normal" intercourse was vaginally caused. This confusion is caused by a combination of two factors. One, failing to locate the center of the orgasm, and two, by a desire to fit her experience to the male-defined idea of sexual normalcy. Considering that women know little about their anatomy, it is easy to be confused.

Deception—The vast majority of women who pretend vaginal orgasm to their men are faking it to, as Ti-Grace Atkinson says, "get the job." In a new best-selling Danish book, / Accuse (my own translation), Mette Ejlersen specifically deals with this common problem, which she calls the "sex comedy." This comedy has many causes.

First of all, the man brings a great deal of pressure to bear on the woman, because he considers his ability as a lover at stake. So as not to offend his ego, the woman will comply with the prescribed role and go through simulated ecstasy. In some of the other Danish women mentioned, women who were left frigid were turned off to sex, and pretended vaginal orgasm to hurry up the sex act. Others admitted that they had faked vaginal orgasm to catch a man. In one case, the woman pretended vaginal orgasm to get him to leave his first wife, who admitted being vaginally frigid. Later she was forced to continue the deception, since obviously she couldn't tell him to stimulate her clitorally.

Many more women were simply afraid to establish their right to equal enjoyment, seeing the sexual act as being primarily for the man's benefit, and any pleasure that the woman got as an added extra.

Other women, with just enough ego to reject the man's idea that they needed psychiatric care, refused to admit their frigidity. They wouldn't accept self-blame, but they didn't* know how to solve the problem, not knowing the physiological facts about themselves. So they were left in a peculiar limbo.

Again, perhaps one of the most infuriating and damaging results of this whole charade has been that women who were perfectly healthy sexually were taught that they were not. So in addition to being sexually deprived, these women were told to blame themselves when they deserved no blame. Looking for a cure to a problem that has none can lead a woman on an endless path of self-hatred and insecurity. For she is told by her analyst that not even in her one role allowed in a male society—the role of a woman—is she successful. She is put on the defensive, with phony data as evidence that she better try to be even more feminine, think more feminine, and reject her envy of men. That is, shuffle even harder, baby.

WHY MEN MAINTAIN THE MYTH

1. Sexual Penetration Is Preferred—The best stimulant for the penis is the woman's vagina. It supplies the necessary friction and lubrication. From a strictly technical

point of view this position offers the best physical conditions, even though the man may try other positions for variation.

2. The Invisible Woman—One of the elements of male chauvinism is the refusal or inability to see women as total, separate human beings. Rather, men have chosen to define women only in terms of how they benefited men's lives. Sexually, a woman was not seen as an individual wanting to share equally in the sexual act, any more than she was seen as a person with independent desires when she did anything else in society. Thus, it was easy to make up what was convenient about women; for on top of that, society has been a function of male interests, and women were not organized to form even a vocal opposition to the male experts.

3. The Penis as Epitome of Masculinity—Men define their lives greatly in terms of masculinity. It is a universal, as opposed to racial, ego boosting, which is localized by the geography of racial mixtures.

The essence of male chauvinism is not the practical, economic services women supply. It is the psychological superiority. This kind of negative definition of self, rather than positive definition based upon one's own achievements and development, has of course chained the victim and the oppressor both. But by far the most brutalized of the two is the victim.

An analogy is racism, where the white racist compensates his feelings of unworthiness by creating an image of the black man (it is primarily a male struggle) as biologically inferior to him. Because of his power in a white male power structure, the white man can socially enforce this mythical division.

To the extent that men try to rationalize and justify male superiority through physical differentiation, masculinity may be symbolized by being the most muscular, the most hairy, the deepest voice, and the biggest penis. Women, on the other hand, are approved of (i.e., called feminine) if they are weak, petite, shave their legs, have high soft voices, and no penis.

Since the clitoris is almost identical to the penis, one finds a great deal of evidence of men in various societies trying to either ignore the clitoris and emphasize the vagina (as did Freud), or, as in some places in the Mideast,

actually performing clitoridectomy. Freud saw this ancient and still practiced custom as a way of further "feminizing" the female by removing this cardinal vestige of her masculinity. It should be noted also that a big clitoris is considered ugly and masculine. Some cultures engage in the practice of pouring a chemical on the clitoris to make it shrivel up into proper size.

It seems clear to me that men in fact fear the clitoris as a threat to their masculinity.

4. Sexually Expendable Male—Men fear that they will become sexually expendable if the clitoris is substituted for the vagina as the center of pleasure for women. Actually this has a great deal of validity if one considers only the anatomy. The position of the penis inside the vagina, while perfect for reproduction, does not necessarily stimulate an orgasm in women because the clitoris is located externally and higher up. Women must rely upon indirect stimulation in the "normal" position.

Lesbian sexuality could make an excellent case, based upon anatomical data, for the extinction of the male organ. Albert Ellis says something to the effect that a man.without a penis can make a woman an excellent lover.

Considering that the vagina is very desirable from a man's point of view, purely on physical grounds, one begins to see the dilemma for men. And it forces us as well to discard many "physical" arguments explaining why women go to bed with men. What is left, it seems to me, are primarily psychological reasons why women select men at the exclusion of women as sexual partners.

5. Control of Women—One reason given to explain the Mideastern practice of clitoridectomy is that it will keep the women from straying. By removing the sexual organ capable of orgasm, it must be assumed that her sexual drive will diminish. Considering how men look upon their women as property, particularly in very backward nations, we should begin to consider a great deal more why it is not in the men's interest to have women totally free sexually. The double standard, as practiced for example in Latin America, is set up to keep the woman as total property of the husband, while he is free to have affairs as he wishes.

6. Lesbianism and Bisexuality—Aside from the strictly anatomical reasons why women might equally seek other

women as lovers, there is a fear on men's part that women will seek the company of other women on a full, human basis. The establishment of clitoral orgasm as fact would threaten the heterosexual institution. For it would indicate that sexual pleasure was obtainable from either men or women, thus making heterosexuality not an absolute, but an option. It would thus open up the whole question of human sexual relationships beyond the confines of the present male-female role system.

BOOKS MENTIONED IN THIS ESSAY

Sexual Behavior in the Human Female, Alfred C. Kinsey;

Pocketbooks.

Female Sexuality, Marie Bonaparte; Grove Press.

Sex Without Guilt, Albert Ellis; Grove Press.

Sexual Feelings in Married Men and Women, G. Lombard

Kelly; Pocketbooks.

I Accuse (leg Anklager), Mette Ejlersen; Award Books.
The Sexually Adequate Female, Frank S. Caprio; Fawcett

Gold Medal Books.

Thinking About Women, Mary Ellman; Harcourt, Brace & World.

Human Sexual Response, Masters and Johnson; Little, Brown.
Also see:

The ABZ of Love, Inge and Sten Hegeler; Alexicon Corp.

Health Care May Be Hazardous to Your Health

ALICE WOLFSON

The lights dim and the camera zooms in on the shining halls of Anytown General Hospital. The smiling, contented nurses look benevolently at the patients in their charge, and

the orderlies and aides mop down the halls, happily keeping everything in tip-top condition. In center stage we see a kindly man in a white coat gently holding an agitated woman's hand. And before our very eyes her expression changes from panic to confidence in the marvelous creature who stands beside her. As the music oozes concern and the picture dissolves, we all feel safe because that certain someone in his shining citadel is looking out for us. Who is this wonderful being? Is he a man? No! He's Super-Doctor —Kildare, Casey, Welby, and Kiley all rolled into one irresistible package of knowledge, concern, and, most of all, magical skills.

Behind this popular image of the efficient medical machine and the benevolent doctor-god there lurks the reality of medicine as Big Business. Health has become one of the fastest growing and most profitable industries in this country, one that counts an after-tax profit of over $2.6 billion a year. But while more money is being made and spent in health each year, less money is spent to improve health care. In 1968, community hospitals spent 16 percent more money than they did in 1967; in spite of this increase, they provided only 3.3 percent more days of in-patient care and 3.7 percent more out-patient visits. Since few of us have noticed any improvement in the quality of care, we may wonder what happened to the other nine percent.

In their article, "The Big Business of Health," in a recent issue of Liberation, Barbara and John Ehrenreich thoroughly explored the interlocking connections between the hospitals, the drug industry, and Big Business. There is no doubt that the hospitals, and medicine in general, are no longer a public service, if they ever were. (In the socialist countries health care is considered the right of all human beings. One doctor I spoke to in Cuba felt that "right" did not go far enough when speaking about the ideology of medicine. He felt that health care was a biological necessity and anything less was a betrayal of the people.)

In this country health is an exploitive business; as with any other profit-making business, those who can buy it are those who get it. The American medical establishment sees health care as a privilege and, as the Ehrenreichs point out, even the privileged are having a harder time getting care. What is wrong with the medical system in our country is that it is a microcosm of our capitalist system, which is

based on the exploitation of the many for the profits of the few. As long as we live under a system which condones pills for profits, people will die.

What is less obvious perhaps, is the male supremacist nature of the health business. Racism and sexism are integral to capitalism. Blacks suffer in this society because all of us are oppressed, but they suffer in particular ways because they are black. The same is true for women, who are particularly victimized and exploited by the health system in the United States.

Like most businesses, health is run by men (women account for only nine percent of the doctors in this country) and the role of the doctor as the ruling entrepreneur of the health empire is a distinctly masculine one. We see doctors as gods, and God, of course, is a man. We see them as explorers, and we all know that Christopher Columbus was a man. We see them as pioneers, and who remembers Mrs. Daniel Boone? And we see them as therapists, recalling the image of a stern but kindly Sigmund Freud.

What we, as women, do not remember is that intrinsic to these archetypal masculine images is the idea that women are inferior. An industry and a profession which sees itself as "all male" cannot help but treat women as second-class objects, to be manipulated at will.

THE WEAKER SEX

Women are constantly victimized by doctors through their own bodies. Any woman who has ever had a gynecological examination, particularly in a clinic, knows what it is like to feel like a piece of meat. You are rushed in and out so quickly that, as one woman said of a recent visit to Planned Parenthood, "I didn't even have time to say 'drop dead* to them."

Poor, black, and other minority-group women are especially vulnerable through their sex. They are often experimented on and used as control subjects at the whim of doctors, hospitals, and drug companies. Poor Puerto Rican women were among the first guinea pigs for birth-control pills, and many of them did not even know that they were being used in an experimental study.

Today, 8.5 million American women taking the pill are participating in the largest experiment ever conducted. The only trouble is that few realized from the beginning that they were being used as experimental animals. The pill hearings in Congress have revealed shocking facts about the dubious safety of these drugs. But how many of these facts are reaching the women whose lives are endangered daily as they pop their pills?

On December 21, 1969, Dr. Herbert L. Ley, Jr., ex-Food and Drug Administration commissioner, said that the government must consider action to see that the 8.5 million American women taking birth-control pills get "much greater information on their possible ill effects." In October, when he was still head of the FDA, Ley would make no such statement, but in December he said: "Speaking as a private citizen and as a concerned physician, I feel a need for greater information for the patient." The facts were the same; only his position in the medical hierarchy had changed.

And Dr. Roy Hertz, who was the chairman of the Federal -Drug Administration (FDA) Advisory Committee on Obstetrics and Gynecology—which recently published a widely publicized report calling the pill "safe"—is now saying very different things. "Estrogen [the main component of all birth-control pills] is to cancer what fertilizer is to wheat," is only one of the frightening statements he has made.

The mere fact that men in responsible government positions, supposedly engaged in safeguarding the health of the nation, should now be making statements like this is horrifying. What does it tell us about the rest of the drugs on the market that we presume are safe—many of which are far less "visible" than the birth-control pills, because they are taken by fewer people? How many doctors tell us when we are taking a potentially dangerous drug?

The frustrating, frightening thing is that the ordinary citizen, the ordinary woman, can't possibly know. The influence of the drug industry in government is very great, as the Kefauver investigations showed some years ago. The drug companies support a lot of medical research quite indirectly, through grants given to private investigators . . . and it would be a mistake to suppose that these researchers are always guided by the highest scientific integrity and not

by the profit motive. Private sources claim, for example, that many of the studies on the birth-control pill conducted by the Planned Parenthood Association have been financed by drug companies. Planned Parenthood has been an enthusiastic supporter of the pill, and has played down its dangers. Just last year, Dr. Alan Guttmacher, the Association's president, stormed out of a TV show on which Dr. Victor Wynn was reporting that the pill affected 51 metabolic changes throughout a woman's body, only one of which was the suppression of ovulation.

But ten years before, in his 1959 book Babies by Choice or by Chance, Dr. Guttmacher warned that the pill violates a basic medical principle that it is safer to affect the functioning of a single organ—the uterus, tubes, or ovaries —directly than "to tinker with that affect through another organ, particularly when that organ is as important and complex as the pituitary gland."

In their zeal over the whole question of population control, Planned Parenthood has been pushing the pill as well as the intrauterine device, or coil, with little caution. (Nothing is known about the long-term effects of using the IUD either—it is not even known how it works, exactly, to prevent conception.) Since population control is an extremely complex problem of which birth control is only a part, one may wonder about the curious coincidence of drug-company interests and Planned Parenthood propaganda.

Perhaps the most outrageous statements, however, have been made by Dr. Robert W. Kistner, one of the major proponents of the pill ... He testified in a suit for damages brought by a man whose wife had died of embolism while taking Enovid. The jury felt the evidence was inconclusive and refused to decide against the company, although research has shown a connection between embolism and the pill. But Dr. Kistner does not even believe in warning women of possible proven complications because, "If you tell them they might get headaches, they'll get them."

Yes. And if you tell women they might get cancer, they might elect to use a different—and cheaper—form of contraception, and that might cut into the multimillion-dollar profits of the drug companies. (In 1969, women spent $120 million on oral contraceptives.)

The pill proponents are now busily condemning the

"Panic" caused by the recent release of information about the pill during Congressional hearings. Certainly nobody should stop taking the pill in midcycle without resorting to other means of birth control. Many women have been scared into doing so, and that is regrettable. But if they had had the right of informed consent all along, this information would be old hat, and they would already have made a reasonable choice concerning the risk involved.

Another aspect of the whole birth-control problem that distresses many women is that so much of the research is particularly curious when you compare the differences in complexity between the female and male hormonal structures. The male's is infinitely more simple. But since children are regarded as the sole responsibility of women in this society, it is not surprising that the men who control the research establishment suppose that women should also have the sole responsibility for preventing conception.

In simpler terms, perhaps the response of a young doctor when pushed by the question "Why no male contraceptive research?" would more clearly explain the situation: "No one's fooling around with my sperm, baby!"

If the pill were a food additive, it would probably have been taken off the market long ago. Cyclamates were taken off the market under a statute which requires the immediate withdrawal of anything added to food which can be linked to cancer. And in certain instances, and only when massive doses were administered, some rats fed on cyclamates developed cancer.

But a three-year study of 35,000 women taking the pill showed that early changes associated with cervical cancer were significantly more prevalent among them than among the same number of women using the diaphragm. No matter how inconclusive the study, women certainly deserve to be told about such serious correlations. The American Medical Association refused to publish the study.

Perhaps the food lobby is not as powerful as the sugar lobby on Capitol Hill ... or perhaps it was thought that if cyclamates were yanked out of circulation with only the smallest amount of evidence against them, people would breathe easier. After all, if the FDA is so careful we can be sure they would ban other drugs—like the pill—if they were harmful.

ABORTION

It is not through the pill alone that women risk physical harm at the hands of the medical establishment. At a recent conference with members of the Washington, D.C., Public Health Department, D.C. Women's Liberation asked Dr. Ernest Lowe, the head of Obstetrics and Gynecology at D.C. General Hospital, why abortions were not performed on women who asked for them. (D.C. General is the only public hospital in the District.) Lowe said that D.C. General had delivered 5,000 babies in 1968; and that he would venture to guess that of the 5,000, 4,000 were unwanted. If D.C. General had performed the service the women wanted, there would have been 4,000 abortions instead of the seven actually completed. Dr. Lowe did not know how he could get the medical staff and time to perform that many abortions. When confronted with the obvious fact that it takes more staff time -and money to give 4,000 women prenatal, delivery, and postpartum care—not to mention the ongoing expense of the unwanted child—Dr. Lowe said that it would just be too boring for his staff to perform that many abortions.

Is it because doctors would be bored with treating women as they wish to be treated that illegal abortion is the leading cause of death associated with pregnancy in this country? For a hospital to save one woman from the deadly results of a botched illegal abortion, staff time and costs can run as high as $10,000; for this amount, as many as 100 women could have had safe, legal abortions.

The mortality statistics on abortion conform to the usual pattern of maternity-connected deaths in American medicine. The death rate from illegal abortions is five times as high for Puerto Rican as for white women, and eight times as high for black women as for white. All women suffer, but poor and black women, as usual, suffer most.

A recent study by Dr. Christopher Teize showed that there were three deaths per 100,000 women from embolism—blood clots—each year. The mortality rate from embolism for women using contraception other than the pill was only .4 per 100,000 a year, but for women in pregnancy it is 80.4. Obviously it would be preferable to

allow women control over their own bodies, and give them the option of less lethal birth-control methods backed up by free and legal abortion on demand.

But since most of the doctors who decide whether or not women can have abortions are men, one wonders if they would use the same rigid requirements if they had to bear and raise the children they are deciding should be born. It is interesting to note that most medical schools hesitate to admit women because they take time out to have children. Women are penalized for having children, but they are not allowed to decide not to have them.

Even in those states where abortion laws are liberal enough to make legal abortion a possibility, mazes of psychiatric referrals and hospital review boards keep the possibility of safe abortions open to only a privileged few. In the male-dominated medical establishment, the question of a woman's "morality" becomes an issue. Our puritanical double standard of sex has never allowed women to freely express their natural sexuality. "If a woman is going to enjoy herself, she should bear the consequences," is the line frequently heard. If a woman could function freely, how could she be kept in the home to service men? How could men maintain the initiative in the social-sexual structure? Somewhere in that system of psychiatric references, consulting physicians, and hospital board rulings, these attitudes are buried.

HEALTH CONSUMER-DOUBLE VICTIM

Since women have been given the sole responsibility for the care of children and home, they are the prime consumers in our society. They are constantly bombarded with messages to buy, and they are constantly buying. The same is true in health. It falls upon women to negotiate the health system for themselves, their children, and often their husbands. There is, however, a basic and dangerous contradiction in this role, a contradiction which the health industry (doctors, drug companies, hospitals, etc.) uses to its advantage.

One of the things women are taught from earliest childhood is that they are not to make important decisions.

That's what men are for; that's why you get married. At the same time, men are taught not to take women seriously. How then are women, who have been carefully trained not to make decisions, going to decide whether a doctor is good or bad? Especially when doctors make them feel like idiots if they ask a question and bring out great quantities of injured male pride if women question a diagnosis.

Many of us are, to some extent, aware of the terrible health care that poor people get in the ghettos of our cities. We have seen pictures of the rats and roaches in the halls of city hospitals like Bellevue or D.C. General. But we seem to resist the reality that all of us are health poor. The blackest and the poorest are the most victimized, but we all suffer—particularly if we are women—all of the time. Any woman who has ever had to worry about a sick child knows this in her guts, but since there is nowhere else to turn, we try to quiet the anger rather than face the fear. When a child gets sick at 10:00 o'clock at night—or at 10:00 in the morning for that matter—there are almost no doctors who will come to the house to examine the child. The house visit, which for poor people never existed except in the medical-hero stories, is now a thing of the past. If the child gets sick during the day and the family can afford a private doctor, it is usually possible to arrange to take the child to the doctor in his office at his convenience. If the family is poor or it is late at night, the mother must bring the child to the emergency room, where, depending on color and income, they can wait half an hour or even eight hours for care. Naturally, no provisions are ever made for the care of the mother's other children; in fact, some clinics bar all children except the patient from the waiting room.

After hearing several medical horror stories from the mothers of small children, I asked one, a mother of two, why she didn't change pediatricians. "Oh, this one is much better than the last one I had," she said. "At least you can get to see this one. With the last one, his nurse gave all the instructions over the telephone." It's not the nurse, however, who pockets the fee.

One of the reasons that doctors hold all of the trump cards is that they are so scarce. Fully aware of this, the medical profession has carefully blocked all attempts to enlarge medical-school classes, or to change medical-school

curriculum so that people from minority groups and women might have more of a chance to become doctors —as well as to change the philosophical bias of the medical profession (which is to make as much money as possible).

WHO'S ON TOP IN HEALTH?

The male supremacist nature of health care is graphically illustrated when we take a look at who does what and where within the system. The majority of hospital workers are women: they are the nurses, aides, receptionists, secretaries, and often the technicians, cooks, laundresses, housekeepers, and maids. Most doctors now entering medicine can expect to make from $35,000 to $100,000 a year. The average salary for nurses is about $6,500 and hospital workers are among the lowest paid workers in the country. Just last year, Local 1199, the hospital workers' union, fought a battle at one of the richest medical empires in New York, for $100-a-week minimum wage.

A breakdown of the staffing patterns in the paramedical departments at a hospital for women in the Washington, D.C., area clearly reveals that in health, just as in the rest of this society, women do all the scut work, and men take all the credit.

DEPT.	WOMEN	MEN	DEPT. HEAD
Personnel	3	1	male
Purchasing	1	4	male
Communication	8	0	female
Dietary	22	13	male
Radiology	2	1	male
Engineering	0	21	male
Pharmacy	0	4	male
Nursing	all	0	female

DEPT. WOMEN MEN DEPT. HEAD

In those areas where women outnumber men, the women are still usually subservient to the men. Even nursing is not immune from this kind of male domination: the director of nursing for the District of Columbia is a male, and in the only department in a city hospital where there is a male nurse, he is the head of nursing. At the same women's

hospital mentioned above only eight of the 107 doctors on the full-time attending staff are women. When the caretaking role is that of medical doctor, women aren't considered fit even to care for other women.

In the entire United States, only nine percent of the doctors are women. When we compare this to 65 percent in Russia, over 50 percent in Cuba, and 24 percent in Great Britain, it becomes immediately clear that as soon as profit stops being the motive for health care, all human potential—even women—can be utilized to keep people alive and well. But in our system, human welfare is secondary to the well-being of business.

The corporate, profit-making medical institutions reinforce, on a grand scale, the attitudes and behavior that aid doctors in their exploitation of the community. The vast industrial array of medical products and services available encourages the exploitive and supremacist behavior of the small businessman medical practitioner. The business of health is a zealously guarded monopoly and few of us have the specialized knowledge to attack it or even deal with it intelligently. Everyone suffers at its hands, especially the poor and the black, brown, and red people of this country. Decent health care should be a right and not a privilege, and profit has no place in medicine. Doctors must be reeducated to care for the people under the control of the people. The exploitive health system and its Big Daddy must be destroyed.

An Abortion Testimonial

BARBARA SUSAN

We here submit an example of the many affidavits filed against the State of New York by the 400 plaintiffs in the suit to change abortion laws, illustrating the kinds of experiences—and now the kinds of public confessionals—women have to undergo due to sexist abortion laws.

AN ABORTION TESTIMONIAL 331
Barbara Susan, being duly sworn, deposes and says:

I became pregnant. I had incomplete knowledge of contraception. I was sane and healthy, therefore ineligible for a legal abortion. Not being criminal or sophisticated I had no access to illegal means of abortion. I asked my mother for money to cover the cost of a trip to Japan where abortion was legal. She was not wealthy. She refused. She became hysterical. I became hysterical. Twenty-four hours later I was married. Eight months later I was delivered of an infant. Shortly afterwards the child was adopted and my marriage dissolved.

At the time of conception I was capable of a love relationship but not a parent-child relationship. The state forced me into becoming a parent by denying me the right to a legal abortion. I would like to sue the state for damages resulting from that maternity.

I was forced into a marriage relationship through pressure from my family. Pressure, which since I was in a vulnerable position, I was unable to resist. My husband had no money. I left college and took a full-time job. By taking a leave of absence from college I forfeited a regents scholarship (which was the only reason I was able to attend school). Also, the school had a rule which did not allow pregnant women to register. In effect, I had no freedom to pursue the goals which I had set up for myself. The state was punishing me for my sexual behavior. I no longer had control of my life. At seventeen years of age it had been interrupted by forced maternity.

I decided to give the child up for adoption. I had to defend that decision against family and friends who had been so influenced by the legal sanctions given to motherhood that they found it impossible to accept my decision. They tried to convince me to stay married and become a mother. I was unprepared for motherhood financially, emotionally, and morally.

I decided to dissolve the marriage. After the birth of the child I returned to school. I was also working at that time to pay off legal bills, medical bills, and to support myself. (I had been fired from my previous job when they discovered I was pregnant.) After one term I left school and got a full-time job. My present occupation as an art

teacher and a painter is not a very lucrative one, and can barely support me, let alone enable me to return to school.

When I tried to take control of my life (have an abortion), I faced opposition. The state was on the side of the opposition. I feel it is unconstitutional for the state to have taken any position in relation to the moral and emotional way in wh'ch I chose to conduct my life. The state should compensate me for the emotional ordeal it put me through. Moreover, the state should be made to support me while I finish my education.

VII. Sisters in Revolution

The following is testimony from the My Lai massacre in Vietnam:

"Jay Roberts watched while troops gathered a group of women including a teenage girl of about thirteen. A GI grabbed her with the help of others and started stripping her. 'Let's see what she's made of,' another soldier said. 'VC boom-boom,' another said, telling her she was a whore for the Viet Cong. 'I'm horny,' said a third. As they were stripping the girl, with dead bodies and burning huts all around them, the girl's mother tried to help her, scratching and clawing at the soldiers. One soldier kicked the mother and another slapped her. ... A photographer jumped in to take a picture. When they noticed the photographer, they let off the girl and turned away. Seconds later a soldier asked, 'What'll we do with them?' 'Kill them,' another answered." All of the women and children were killed.

How can this happen? It happens because we have learned that Vietnamese are not real people—they are "gooks" and "commies," which means we can "clean" them out in "search and destroy" missions. We have developed a language and an ideology to rationalize genocide.

What does the Vietnamese war have to do with women's liberation? Everything! Women in the movement here are talking about the essential rights of people to live full and meaningful lives, demanding an end to the way women, throughout history, have been objectified and dehumanized. How then can we not recognize these same claims are being made not

only by the oppressed in our own country, but by those oppressed by this country abroad? In the same way this country uses women as a reserve, or cheap, labor force, so too it uses the people of Asia, Africa and Latin America, but in a far more severe way. American companies have a great deal of political influence in the countries in which they operate. What this means is that workers in those countries are paid starvation wages, the land belongs to the companies and not the people, and the women—always the most oppressed group—face illiteracy, hunger, disease, prostitution and early death.

Americans suffer from chronic xenophobia, and we are taught to see all peoples and all cultures, outside of our own, as inferior. We understand their history only insofar as it relates to our own.

The following section deals specifically with revolutionary women in Asia, Africa and Latin America. By understanding what it means to fight for our own liberation, we must also understand and relate to liberation movements abroad.

American women must see the lives of their sisters in these countries as being inextricably intertwined with their own lives. The same system exploits both. The motive is profit, and profits cannot be made unless someone pays for it. Everywhere it is the women who are most exploited. None of us can be free until all are free.

Liberation Must Also Include the Women of Africa

SONYA OKOTH

The battles for independence from colonial rule have borne out the indelible imprints of the African woman's practical contribution to the political emancipation of the continent.

This truth at once removes any shade of doubt as to the ability, mobility and vulnerability of the African woman to the revolutionary struggle. But what becomes the real issue now is the social status of the woman, her position in the whole fabric of the social setup in Africa, that is, the part she has to play in social production.

The magnitude of the significance of this question can be properly perceived not only when estimation is made of the numerical strength of the women and the contribution which they can make toward the welfare of society in their capacity as an indivisible and indispensable part of Africa's labor force.

But also, and this is primary, when the concept of the present struggle in Africa begins to embrace the question of liberation of the masses from economic exploitation and the abolition of all forms of social oppression, that is, the social emancipation of labor, this issue becomes a cardinal part.

Scientists and leaders of the liberation movements in Africa have defined the main character of the present struggle. It is generally accepted that Africa has entered the second phase of her National-Liberation Revolution, for the consolidation of political independence and for winning economic power from imperialism.

But a lasting solution of these tasks is inconceivable within the capitalist system. Capitalist development inevitably means foreign economic domination of Africa and, therefore, the social and political hegemony of the few over

the majority, hereby further developing, prolonging and intensifying the social conflict in Africa.

WHICH PATH?

The present battles in Africa throw both the willing and the unwilling, the conscious and the unconscious, the oppressed and the unoppressed, the exploited and the unexploited into fierce conflicts over the question of which way—capitalism or socialism—is to be the new path for Africa.

Awareness of the class struggle and the drawing of realistic conclusions from it, is unfortunately still being regarded by a large section of African nationalists and pseudo-nationalists as a "foreign" ideology and/or communist "subversion."

But, these nationalists and pseudo-nationalists who always regard themselves as the "champions" of Africanism, are in reality unrepenting defenders of the capitalist way and the bourgeois values. They are, on the whole, the enemies of the African people and of their human progress.

Within the context of this class struggle, although it is always unanimously agreed that the main issue is between labor and capital, the woman question has remained obscured, untouched and even obliterated. It is often forgotten, regrettably, even by some dedicated progressive Africans, that women are an inseparable part of labor and hence the woman question is an indivisible part of the labor-capital conflict.

This may be partly due to the limited number of women at present in the contingent of African hired labor. But the chief reason is that many people, the majority of whom are men, still remain prisoners of their age-old sex prejudices which hold that women are no more than material supplements of men and that woman's real position in society is in the backyard.

Lenin accurately described man's attitude to women as: "the most deep-rooted, habitual, case-hardened and ossified . . . outrage and barbarism . . (Lenin, International Woman's Day, 1918).

How far is it possible to draw the masses into the new

struggle without drawing in and without the full and active participation of the women?-—is the question we must ask ourselves. In "Women and Society," Lenin wrote inter alia: "It has been observed in the experiences of all liberation movements that success of a revolution depends on the extent to which women take part in it."

Lenin's statement of fact has been borne out by the part played by African women which no sensible African can deny: that it did substantially contribute to Africa's victory over colonialism. It becomes appropriate therefore to begin by asking— What is this woman question? It must be stated unequivocally that the woman question consists of her abominable position in African society, a position which impedes her full and active participation in the revolutionary movement.

She is the bearer of "petty, monotonous household work"; in the majority of families, she is the farm-digger, child-rearer, etc. In the rural society, she bears more than her share of family problems which justifies her being considered the slave of her husband rather than his equal partner. She is generally regarded as "a mere instrument of production," both in the economic and sexual senses.

DOUBLY EXPLOITED

In the urban areas, she enters into bourgeois relations. She joins the industrial labor fotce as a part of the exploited proletariat while retaining her household work.

She becomes, therefore, the slave of both the urban employer and the husband, at the same time.

Of course, if she married a well-off man, she would be relieved of the household tasks by the employment of servants.

But the woman is still worse off in a polygamous family. Here her role becomes more economically motivated. She forms a part of a communal (or family) labor force—that is, the breadwinner; in addition, if she has financial earnings these are used to bolster the husband's private enterprises—a further source of his domination over the wives.

Dowry is one of the many aspects of the woman ques-

tion. Dowry expresses the woman's inferior position in relation to the social status of her husband. It is generally alleged that dowry is an expression of thanks to the girl's parents. This is not borne out by reality.

In practical life dowry enhances man's material superiority over woman; it manifests the exchange relationship which places the woman in the position of an exchange commodity—a commodity received in exchange for another commodity.

The exchange terms in the dowry are regarded as the exchange of two equivalents, and since this exchange takes place between the woman and another commodity, and does not take place between man and woman, or between man and any commodity, shows the expressed inequality between the man and the woman.

The position of wealth owned by the man accords him the right to buy a wife and at times he buys more than one wife; while possession of wealth by a woman (which is rarer for women than it is for men) does not give her the right to marry one husband at a time. Moreover he would still have to pay dowry to her parents.

In a number of African communities the marriage is only supposed to be a free contract entered into purely on the free will and free consent of the two contracting parties, but in reality, it is not a free will or contract. Parents, especially the poor peasants, artisans and workers, treat their daughters as mere commodity stocks in which a revolving capital has been invested and will be disposed of at the market when the time comes. The daughters are a source, therefore, of family income, and a family investment against the future.

It is a common practice that the amount of dowry, in kind or in money (the latter was less practiced in pre-independence days) is decided upon exclusively between the girl's parents and the parents of the boy, and sometimes with the participation of the latter. The decision is reached through bargaining.

Consent of the girl is rarely sought, but in any case it does not always determine the fate of the marriage. The parents? decision is often paramount.

HUMILIATION

Only in rare cases may her refusal to marry the boy be tolerated, but sometimes the parents use force to give away their daughter to the man who has paid the dowry. The relevance of the ages of the two people who have been made to marry in this case is never considered.

All these things happen to the humiliation of the girl and at the expense of her human dignity. And yet she is expected to put up with them and to be obedient and faithful to her husband.

It is a practice in some communities that when the marriage breaks down and where children have not been born by the marriage, paid dowry under normal circumstances is refunded to the boy's family. If children were born during the marriage, a part of the dowry is left with the woman's family to balance up the production—children.

That still confirms the fact that the property position by man is what really gives him a dominant position over his wife (or wives). Although she may be respected and even loved, both she and the husband think that her backyard position is irreversible and is eternally provided by god.

She generally acknowledges the unquestionable right of her husband to marry more than one wife. This puts her in a situation of unequal respect and unequal love.

The question posed by this private property—a factor which gives the man the role of dominant element in the family—raises another question. It is the question of the social emancipation of the woman.

CLASS QUESTION

In the context of the present struggle, the social emancipation of the woman is a class question and may be solved only through the class struggle. This is contrary to what some Africans (men and women), progressives and nonprogressives alike, think about this issue.

It is often ideally suggested that it suffices only to bring about a change in the attitude of mind of men. It is further argued that the present position of woman is due to her lack of education. This latter argument may be partly true, but cannot be the answer to the whole question of the social position of the woman.

Education may enhance the role of the woman in society and may also be essential for her greater contribution to the revolutionary struggle. This is evident in the case of women in the developed industrial bourgeois states. But this cannot solve the problem of inequality between man and woman, the exploitation of her labor, and that of the household drudgery.

This is why it prompted Lenin to say in his message at the International Women's Day "that the abolition of the private ownership of land, the factories, and mills" is a principal step toward the emancipation of the woman from "domestic slavery" by passing from a pretty, individual, domestic economy to a large-scale social economy.

Africa is fighting for a new path of development. The new path, thereforey presupposes the birth and development of a new African. It means the redemption of the African people from archaic social relations and from all agencies of oppression which obstruct their unimpeded move toward a higher cultural, social, economic and intellectual growth.

In order to attain this goal, Africa requires a down-to-earth social revolution, the establishment of a common ownership of the means of production, and the abolition of inequality in every sphere of social production.

Under a revolutionary leadership, it is not only the enactment of the law abolishing all that which makes the women inferior to men, but the implementation of those social reforms which would eliminate the material basis of that inequality which must play the decisive role.

Asian Women in Revolution

CHARLOTTE BUNCH-WEEKS

In both China and Vietnam, the communist revolutions and the development of a women's movement have been closely intertwined. Whether or not the forces that have set in motion the socialist revolution will also complete the liberation of women is not yet clear, but it is clear that thus far, great advances in the situation of women have gone hand in hand with those revolutions.

The romantic picture of the Asian girl guerrilla painted in the male-dominated movement in the U. S., however, reflects only a small part of the reality of women and it obscures the tremendous complexity of their situation in these rapidly changing societies. By implying a simplistic solution to the historic and deeply imbedded problem of male supremacy, this picture denies the depths of the real struggle for liberation being waged by women in China and Vietnam. We need instead to look more closely and learn from both their great achievements and their future problems.

Women's situation in China and Vietnam must be viewed as part of their history, a history of feudalism, colonialism, and imperialism, in which male supremacy was deeply rooted. Measured by their pasts, both of these countries have made remarkable advances in recent years, especially since the establishment of communist governments in China in 1949 and in North Vietnam in 1954. Male supremacy, however, has existed for thousands of years in the East as well as in the West, and is not eradicated in a few decades in spite of changes made in social institutions; there is still much struggling ahead for all women of the world.

I would like to share these thoughts about women in

China and Vietnam with my sisters, without producing the definitive statement. Regarding China, I will discuss the historical development of the women's movement from the early 1900s up to 1960 and its relationship to the Chinese Communist Revolution. This is based on a year of academic work and a longer paper that I did while a student in 1966; I am unfortunately not able to bring it further up to date at this time. The section on Vietnam is more impressionistic and recent. It is based primarily on a trip I made in the spring of 1970 to North Vietnam and is taken from tapes of a discussion^ with women in Washington, D. C., Women's Liberation on my return.

china

One of the principal tasks of the Revolution in China is the emancipation of over two hundred million women from the bondage of semi-feudal and medieval social ideas and customs. As long as this great human mass ... is not liberated, a real revolutionary change, not only in the institutions of the country, but in the general life and thought of the people, will not be affected.

—Soong Ching-ling, 1927 speech
The Struggle for New China

In the early 1900s, a spirit of change began to emerge among the urban educated women of China; they agitated for new rights and roles in their society. At the same time, China was immersed in political upheaval and struggle over the direction and future of its whole society. During the period of time from 1921 to 1949, the Chinese Communist Party was able to convince large masses of women, peasant and urban, that their emancipation and future liberation lay with the success of the Party in its struggles to take state power. The participation of women thus became a major factor in the success of the Chinese Communist Revolution and for at least ten years following that success, their full participation in the society—in production and politics—and a change in their inferior status in the family were major programs of the party.

Women's equality was advocated by the Chinese Communist Party from its founding on both an ideological and a practical basis. Such equality was a part of their egalitarian ideology. It was also a necessity for building a new order in China. Women were needed in the political struggle for power, and their labor was needed in production. The CCP also hoped that women's participation in public life would aid the process of transforming China from "a family-centered into a community-centered society." These interests coincided with the women's need to free themselves from their economic and familial oppression in traditional Chinese society.

According to the ancient Chinese classics, the position of women was clearly defined:

> The woman followed the man. In youth she followed her father and brother. Married, she obeyed her husband, and after the husband's death, she obeyed her son. [The Book of Rites]

All aspects of a person's life were determined according to the Chinese family system, which was guided by the principles of domination of age over youth and male over female. Girls had no position in their own homes and the most important fact of their girlhood was that husbands must be found for them. Once married, they became part of their husband's family. Girls were therefore often named such things as Gun-di—"who will make way for a brother" or simply given a number and told, "When you grow up and marry, the words will be added, 'married to so and so.'" When conditions were bad, girls would be sold or killed at birth.

In the home of her husband or buyer, a woman had no legal rights, while the man could beat her, demand any task of her, and finally divorce her or bring other wives and concubines into the home. Her future depended on her ability to provide her husband with an heir, whose wife she could later dominate; a sonless woman was scorned. Outside the home she had no property or work rights and her earnings were given directly to the male head of the family. Education consisted of learning about her proper household duties. The upper-class women were kept in the home "protected" from public exposure and the peas-

ant women were burdened down with home and farm work.

During the nineteenth century, the entry of the West into China and the decadence of the Manchu dynasty created a crisis in Chinese society, during which there were sporadic attempts to protest and alter the role of women. Educated Chinese, including upper-middle-class women, and some Westerners began to talk about free-choice marriages, small families, monogamy, birth control, and education and political participation for women. New schools for girls and factories that used women laborers in the cities began to bring some women out of the confinement of their homes and farm labor. Prior to 1911, the sporadic and diverse attempts to improve the lot of women found expression primarily in women's schools, magazines, and clubs in the cities. These women supported the establishment of a republic and hoped to see it pass legislation promoting their cause, but the all-male legislature founded with the new republic in 1911 totally disappointed them on this score. Soon, women's emancipation became a more political issue with students and intellectuals leading the way in advocating women's equality and participation in the national revolution to overthrow the warlords and realize democracy in China.

Chinese Communist Party

During the 1920s, a coalition between the Chinese Communist Party (CCP—formed in 1921) and the Nationalist Party (formed in 1912) became the dominant force contending for control of China. From the beginning, the CCP insisted on the need to enlist the support of women, and the coalition set up a women's bureau. This bureau formed women's unions and sent women propagandists with the army to fight for women's rights and to encourage more women to participate in the revolution of the people. Legislation establishing equal rights began to be passed. Women bobbed their hair as a badge of their new freedom and enthusiasm spread especially among urban educated youth, but gradually also to some peasant and working women organized by the communists. Women's unions were active in various strikes and in 1924, International Women's Day began to be celebrated annually in China. Even an un-

sympathetic Westerner observed in 1927 that the women's movement "has come to stay. ... It may be temporarily arrested, but it cannot be reversed—the ideals conceived cannot be obliterated."

The coalition between the Communists and the Nationalist Party broke apart in 1927 and many of the leaders of the women's movement became identified with one of these factions. The Nationalists were in power and began to purge China of Communist influence. Women from the CCP were hunted down and shared its risky existence, thus becoming thoroughly welded to the fortunes of the whole Party. Other women emancipationists who were not Communists began to identify the women's movement with the CCP because of the red-baiting and witch-hunting. While not repudiating women's equality in theory, the Nationalists not only hunted down radical women on the suspicion of Communism, but also failed to develop their own program for promoting the women's movement. From the cities came reports that "The Women's Association was summarily disbanded . . . along with various unions in the city, all of whom were charged with being Red"; and in the countryside, observers claimed that "girls and women were killed on the evidence of their bobbed hair alone." The Nationalists also abolished the women's bureau which had been agitating for women's rights and called instead in 1930 for a revival of certain old Confucian virtues, through the "New Life Movement," which advocated the old family precepts. While many urban women still supported the Nationalists, they had little reason to identify the success of women's emancipation with the future of the Nationalist Party and they were not a significant political force on their behalf.

In contrast the CCP, in the areas it controlled, advocated the emancipation of women, outlined platforms for the equality of women in work, marriage and property rights, and developed techniques for working with women as a major political force organized to do everything from mass education to guerrilla warfare. As the Communists were forced out into the countryside, first into South China and later into the Northwest, they passed through areas where women's equality was unheard of. Here, they experimented with programs aimed at women's emancipation, developed tactics for work with peasant women, and attracted dis-

contented women who, looking on the Party as their emancipator, joined in its struggles.

Many of the urban women's leaders who did not join the Communists and who were also alienated from the Nationalists worked independently for women's rights, through women's clubs and publications. However, they do not appear to have built any strong organizational base and were constantly torn by the split between the Nationalists and Communists and the general political chaos of the country.

The Sino-Japanese War beginning in 1935 brought many more women out of their homes, doing every manner of activity and exposing them to the ideas of women emancipationists. The Nationalist government, which had been forced to call a truce with the Communists in order to fight the Japanese, recognized the need to train women in the war effort and helped form a Women's Advisory Committee to do this. This committee activated many new women and sparked new energy among women leaders who had accepted setbacks in their movement before. The committee also put Communist women in touch again with urban and student emancipationists in areas controlled by the Nationalist government.

The Sino-Japanese war and the truce gave the Communists new opportunities to expand their work. While mobilizing people for the war, Communist workers interpreted the new roles of women and their benefits to the rural people, most of whom had no acquaintance with these ideas. They mobilized and trained women to fill new roles. Art and education were popular means of teaching people these new ideas. For example, textbooks talked about the old "dark society" in which women had been confined and contrasted that to the new society in which they were equal, sharing equal rights and equal responsibilities in the fight against the Japanese. White-Haired Woman, the most famous liberation drama performed in rural areas, described the hard life of women:

The daughter of a poor peasant is forced to become
a maidslave in the home of a landlord whose usury
has squeezed her father into hopeless debt. Overcome
with grief, the father commits suicide. The landlord
rapes the girl and she runs away to a mountain cave,

where she later gives birth to a stillborn child. She lives like an animal, subsisting on food left as offerings to the gods on a temple altar. Her miserable existence makes her hair turn white. Finally, the region is liberated by the Communist Army, and she returns to her village to confront her oppressor and be reunited with the peasant boy who loves her.

Party work was aimed both at encouraging women to become active and at forcing men to treat women equally. Cadres from the Women's Association assured peasant women that there was a place for them in the new society and urged the formation of a Women's Association where people would tell their bitterness in public. The Women's Associations would try to persuade men of the economic and social benefits of the equality of women, but when this failed, they often dealt with their oppressors militantly.

In this way, the women leaders of the CCP sought to show rural women that a new life of equality was possible with the Party and to instill in them a sense of their own importance, particularly for bringing revolutionary change in the country. Under this leadership, many peasant women joined the struggle and declared that their new equality, indeed their very lives, were dependent on a Communist victory. These women became a significant force for the revolution.

In the struggle for power immediately following the end of World War II, it became clear that the Communists had attracted a large base of support from rural women but that the Nationalists were not able to respond to the demands of women, even in the urban areas. The Nationalists continued to pass legislation protecting women's rights, but they did little to make this a reality. In the rural areas under their control they still depended on landlords and so the laws were not enforced and female servitude was still the order of the day. Fearful of Communist influence in the political involvement of women, they emphasized economic and educational issues, but did not organize women to be active politically. Stories were told of women persecuted because they were too active in their belief in the equality of women, especially around universities.

Falling under the weight of inflation, government corruption, and loss of public morale, the Nationalists grew

more politically repressive and alienated even their urban base of support. Many important women leaders who had stayed away from the Communists in the 1930s, such as Soong Ching-ling (the wife of China's first revolutionary hero, Sun Yat-sen, and the sister of Madame Chiang Kai-shek), turned their support to them between 1945-49. The CCP began to receive significant backing not only among the rural women but also from urban leaders who felt that women's liberation would be further advanced through the Communists than under the existing Nationalist government.

Once in power in 1949, the Chinese Communists sought to mobilize women for the tasks of building the country and promised that women's full equality would come as a part of that process. The principle of women's equality was immediately proclaimed in constitutional provisions, laws and directives of the new government. All organizations, such as the peasants' associations, were reminded of their special obligation to women, not only to draw in their active participation but also to form women's committees to safeguard their interests in such matters as agrarian reform.

The mass organization for women, the All China Democratic Women's Federation, became the main vehicle for advocating women's equality and for uniting the women's movement under the CCP. The Federation included women from all stratas, such as the YWCA and important non-Communist women leaders, but was still guided by long-time Party leaders. The Federation followed the lines of action developed in the women's associations formed earlier in the liberated areas. Its major functions were (1) education and organization of women into local unions, (2) quasi-government tasks such as aid in planning and implementing the new marriage law, (3) direct participation in Party drives as an example to the masses, (4) speaking on behalf of women at congresses and conferences, and (5) relaying women's recommendations and demands to the appropriate Party or government organ.

One of the most important laws changing the status of women was the new Marriage Law, based on free choice of partners, monogamy, equal rights for both sexes, and protection of the interests of women and children. The campaign to get acceptance of the law included Women's

Federation meetings to discuss it, newspaper articles, broadcasts, and plays about the law and how it changed people's lives, blackboard notices as well as "speak bitterness" meetings in which women publicly aired their grievances against husband or family. The early campaigns for acceptance of the law collided with deeply entrenched ideas and created so much disruption that after a couple of years, the Party decided to continue the reform peacefully but avoided sudden and massive campaigns around it.

Another aspect of the government's drive for women's equality was in economics. The Land Reform Law of 1950 called for equal allotments of land to women; women were to be paid equal wages for equal work in both agriculture and industry, given directly to them instead of to the head of the family; special provisions for the protection of women were written into the Labor Insurance Regulations and the Trade Union Law. The Women's Federation claimed that women's equality in the family and society at large would best be served through their participation in production. Women with training and leadership in production were sent to organize women to do this work and to protect their interests under the laws passed. Implementing these objectives on a local level involved a combination of group pressure, persuasion, and training; for example, in one village a woman cadre worked on involving the most old-fashioned and inhibited female, and when she was won over, other women followed.

Speak Bitterness!

The women developed a technique of group self-defense. All would go to the husband or father-in-law and try to reason with him. If he refused to take the women seriously, they captured and imprisoned him for a period of time, generally three days. Then he was brought before the association. He was given a chance to tell his story, but if he did not, the woman was asked to speak. Daring to speak out was in itself a revolution. The accused would be asked to repent. If he did not, the women beat him up. Their fury, contrasting sharply with the image of the docile Chinese woman, usually terrified him into submission. In order to be freed, he had to promise publicly to

treat the woman justly. And the women were there to see that he kept his oath. These actions became known as "Speak Bitterness" meetings.

—Diane Feeley

The focus was not limited to peasants and industrial workers; housewives and educated women were drawn into community affairs, study, and conferences about the needs of the nation and the rights of women. One woman explained why she decided to work harder:

When I went to Peking this year for the conference of capitalists' [small businessmen's] wives, I felt so proud [of China], and I also felt that I had wasted too much of my time. I am educated, I said, I can use my knowledge in a bright and broad way.

The virtues of good housekeeping and economization were also extolled as part of building the nation. The Women's Federation held meetings to air housewives' complaints about neighborhood services, in which the wider relationships between each household's budget and the progress of the country were discussed and solutions to the complaints developed. Through these discussions, women were encouraged to see their own importance to the nation and to identify the progress of modernization with their own futures.

The Great Leap Forward

By 1956, many more women were participating in various aspects of society. While there were four times as many women workers as in 1949 and women made up 30-40 percent of those enrolled in schools, women's full equality was clearly not yet complete. Nonetheless, in 1957, the Women's Federation claimed that since the groundwork for equality in the law and in production had been laid, the equality of men and women had been by and large realized, women's oppression had been uprooted, and the fullness of her emancipation would be seen only through the successful building up of a socialist China. The Federation then changed its name and purpose and turned its energies

into the involvement of women in the establishment of communes as part of the "great leap forward."

The communes were to emancipate women further through the collectivization and socialization of housework such as cooking, washing, baby-sitting, thus freeing women for more social labor. It appears that by 1959, well over half of the women took active part in social production and that their education and participation in public affairs was increased through commune schools, meetings, and conferences. Women's reactions to the communes were, however, very diverse and they do not seem to have been as successful in either production or full emancipation of women as hoped.

By 1960, the Women's Federation stood at a crossroads. It had built its work primarily around women's oppression and the need to establish women's equality, but now it claimed that these tasks were basically completed. On the one hand, many women felt that their full equality was not yet realized and that issues of male dominance still needed to be pursued. Others felt that since equality was complete there was no longer a special reason for the Women's Federation to exist. The Federation tried now to appeal to women not so much on the basis of their oppression, but out of loyalty to the Party that had emancipated them and in the name of the future tasks of building a great China. It appears that the Women's Federation has been much less influential in the 1960s than in the 1950s.

Unfortunately, I have not studied the period since 1960, but I have heard reports that seem to indicate that women were a prime moving factor in the cultural revolution and that women's liberation demands are still very alive in parts of China today. Whether or not these reports are accurate, it does seem fair to conclude that they are quite plausible, since women's liberation and an end to male supremacy were not complete in 1960.

The early years of building a new China achieved many important advances toward uprooting the material basis of women's oppression and providing women new opportunities and roles. Given the historical context of the Chinese Revolution, the Chinese Communist Party did become the vehicle for the first stage of the emancipation of women. Whether or not the next stages of liberation are

being dealt with now in the Party and in the Women's Federation or whether women will still require another revolution within the revolution is an open question as far as I can tell. It seems likely, however, given the strong roles that many women took up in the revolution, that these women will not retreat in their drive for the full liberation of themselves and their sisters.

VIETNAM

The women of Vietnam are in the midst of their own process of liberation and they totally identify that process at this stage with defeating the U.S. and building socialism. Whether or not the process of liberating women will in fact be completed without another struggle going on between the men and women in society is, I think, a question for the future. In order to better understand this situation, I will talk about the history of women in Vietnam, about what they are doing today, and suggest some of the ways that male supremacy still functions in their society.

From its inception, the Vietnamese Communist Party proclaimed women's equality as one of its goals and created a Women's Union for this purpose. For most people, the concept of women's liberation was introduced into their lives by the Party, either as part of the resistance movements or after 1954 as part of the new government. Most women, therefore, see the CP as their liberator and identify women's struggles with those of the Party generally.

North Vietnam Today: "5 Equals Plan*9

Currently, the North Vietnamese are working to liberate women through the "5 Equals Plan," launched in 1954. The 5 equals are: equality in (1) fighting, in (2) labor, in (3) party leadership and administration, in (4) management of the society, and in (5) the family. These are the areas in which they are working to make women equal within the society, within the context of resisting U.S. aggression and building socialism.

Women are increasingly involved in the militia and

in home defense, though in the North it is not to the degree that the romantic guerrilla-girl picture would seem to indicate. In labor, women now play a major role. In agriculture they make up 70 percent of the work force; women are over 50 percent of the workers in industry. In 1954, when the Party first started the building of the country, there were only 500 women workers in industry and they were all unskilled. Women have been massively trained since then.

Several laws and services protect women in work. There is equal pay for equal work, paid maternity leaves—about four months, two months before and two months after birth—special health-care provisions for women, and nurseries and kindergartens for the children.

The third area, leadership of the Party and administration, appeared to be somewhat behind. Women experience many struggles in trying to form women's cadres, because of much resistance to the idea of women meeting in any form. Now, women's leadership is increasingly accepted. Also, women work for the enforcement of the new laws concerning women's rights in work, marriage, and property.

In the management of the society, there are more women in top positions now than before 1954, although not many. To meet this problem, they are making women assistants in many fields, such as the vice-principals of schools, assistants in health, education, industry, and agriculture. When women become trained as assistants, then they will be prepared to be the heads of various aspects of management of society.

The final area is equality in the family. The marriage laws passed in 1960 outlawed polygamy and gave women rights equal to men in the family, in divorce, and in property ownership. Up to that time, polygamy was an accepted part of the society and women were not allowed to divorce men, nor could they remarry if their husbands died. Divorce is now a simple procedure handled in the local courts.

The strategy for bringing equality in the family is to industrialize all housework. It is stated in the Constitution that housework, canteens, child care, and home services should be handled communally. That is not always possible now, because of the war, but that is what they are working toward. Day-care services exist for about 50 percent of

the children from around four months old and up. The other 50 percent are not necessarily taken care of by mothers; many stay with grandmothers, or aunts in larger extended-family situations. The idea of a child being raised alone with one mother is unheard of. They are at least raised in a family with brothers, sisters and cousins. There are probably many organized nurseries and kindergartens in the cities now but the goal is to establish enough for all the children everywhere.

We visited a kindergarten for children of the most active women cadres in Hanoi. The children were ages three to five; it was a boarding school where the children stayed all week and went home on weekends. Most of the kindergartens are day schools, not boarding schools. This school had a regular schedule of classes, exercises, rest and play periods. There were four young women teachers and one older man for 90 children. This particular kindergarten had just been moved back to Hanoi from the countryside where it was evacuated because of the bombing. It was very well organized and seemed like a vefy healthy and happy atmosphere.

Women's Union of North Vietnam

The main instrument for women's liberation is the Women's Union, originally formed in 1930. Its two goals are: defending the interests of women, and organizing and raising their political consciousness to participate in various tasks of the revolution. These two goals are seen as two parts of the same task. The primary movement among the women right now is the "3 Responsibilities Movement." Any woman who has succeeded in the 3 Responsibilities Movement receives a handkerchief and pin. It is a simple handkerchief with a dove in one corner, flowers all around, and with the words, "Vietnamese Women—Valiant and Responsible—Against U.S. Imperialism." (They decided that we had fulfilled the 3 Responsibilities so they gave us pins and handkerchiefs.) The 3 Responsibilities are: patriotism or being able to fight and defend the country; production or social labor, picking up the jobs of the men who have gone to the front; and family, or preparing the children to resist and to build socialism in the future.

We asked specifically about their daily activities—what they do with the women in the Women's Union and how they involve women. One of the first things they do is help women to overcome their inferiority complex. They talk to women and offer them training so they realize that they can in fact become active and part of the developing society. Attitudes of male supremacy and women's inferiority are still very deep in many women who are afraid to try new things.

One way that they inspire confidence in women is through emulations in which women who have done good things and become part of the national struggle are held up as examples, to show the potential strength of women. Many of the stories deal with women who encouraged their men to go out and be brave and not stay back because of the family. This indicates that women's initial involvement is thus through their husband's struggle in the war. Other examples are women who are brave in fighting, in work, and in rescuing children.

Political education and training is a major part of the work of the Women's Union. In every village, the Union is responsible for educating the women of that village about the war, socialism, and women's rights. They set up training schools to help give women technical skills. They hold sessions about health to promote hygiene and give out birth-control information. They promote the idea of a three-to-five child family, as compared to the traditionally larger family. Most of their birth control is via rhythm and other nonmechanical methods. They have very little access to mechanical devices such as diaphragms, pills, and coils. Most women cadres, if they do not already have children, are strongly urged not to have more than two or three children as an example, showing other women that it is good to be active in society and have only a few children. There is still a deep-rooted attitude among the women that to be worthwhile, you must have many children. While they do "not want the population level to diminish, they do want to strike a balance between the number of children and the resources to provide proper care, as well as allow women freedom to work in society.

The Women's Union also holds sessions to discuss how to choose a husband and what women can expect and demand of husbands in the new society. Generally women

are not encouraged to marry young, so that they can be active in the youth union or militia first and then have a family later, usually in their mid-twenties.

The Women's Union sees to it that various services which women need—kindergartens, canteens, and other household aids—are set up. It promotes the enforcement of all regulations protecting women's equality. Finally, local unions are responsible for understanding the needs of women in their villages and interpreting these to the government so that it can act further on the liberation of women.

Critical Observations

While much is being done to increase women's status and participation in North Vietnamese society, remnants of male supremacy still exist. One would not expect the North Vietnamese to have eliminated all this in 20 years; nonetheless it is valuable to look at some of the problems. The first important question is whether the advances made will continue or be turned back, as in Algeria, when the men begin to return home. We asked women what they expected to happen when the men came back after the war. Most of them knew what kind of work they wanted to do, whether in agriculture, research, child care, or other fields, and planned to pursue that after the war. They clearly plan to continue working in the society and do not expect a setback. Since the society has a tremendous rebuilding job to do, requiring the labor of many men and women, there is no reason why women should be sent home after the war.

There are three areas in which the women we talked to felt their revolution was not yet complete for women: in women's self-image, in politics, and in the family. Some women still feel inferior and are hesitant to take on certain tasks. In politics, women's representation, while increased greatly, is not equal to their percentage of the population, and some people still do not expect women to be leaders. In the family, old attitudes linger about woman's role, and she is still expected to do many traditional tasks. The Women's Union felt that these problems in the family would end only when housework was truly industrialized and child care for all established.

Male supremacy is still imbedded in the society. The

most important example is the militia. While women carry guns and fight, they are not major military forces in the North. Their role is like a national guard, whose job is manning antiaircraft guns in their villages and defending the home if there is an invasion. If there were such an invasion as in the South, the women would have increasingly important military roles, as they do in the South. Few Northern women, however, are in the military full time, and they are never sent to the front. We asked why, and were told: "If we sent women to the front, who would take care of the country back home, industry, agriculture, children?" Of course, production and the survival of the country at home are indeed as important as fighting, but there is no question that going to the front has greater status. It is often expressed that the greatest thing one can do for one's country is to go to the front, and yet women cannot.

Production is divided into light work and heavy work. Many women are in fact doing heavy work now but it is said that when the men come home, women can go into more appropriate fields. When you pay more for heavy work and then define it as men's work, you create again a second-class status for women. Women are increasingly concentrated in "women's" fields—kindergartens, health, and education—jobs that are considered light work. While this is clearly an advance over women's past confinement to the home, it indicates the existence of a male/female work hierarchy.

While women were doing many things they never dreamed of doing before, they also appeared at times to be viewed more as supporters and entertainers for the men who were the heroes. For example, in some North Vietnamese films, women were portrayed writing letters or doing embroidery for their husbands at the front, or taking up the jobs the men left behind, reflecting a second-class status. Further, children were inheriting these attitudes of women playing secondary roles. For example, in the kindergarten, the young girls did songs and dances for us but no boys participated. We asked why, and they said that girls like to do songs and dances, but boys like to fight and do other things.

The problem that affected us most was the lack of women as public spokesmen. There was often a representa-

tive from a women's organization in various conversations with us, but she usually did not speak, except when we talked specifically about women. Representatives from other groups, such as the Committee for Ethnic Minorities and the Youth Brigades, were almost all male. Women sometimes came in to pour tea or sit in on some sessions but were not even introduced. At one point in talking to an all-male committee with a male interpreter, we described why women in the U.S. had formed a separate movement—because we always ended up pouring the coffee and being secretaries. Everyone seemed to understand what we meant.

Even more troubling was what seemed to us a patronizing attitude toward the women's progress; I have heard people say something similar about Cuba. It tends to come out as, "We're really proud of how far our women have come." On the one hand, this is true, since women did not have an independent movement prior to the Party, but on the other, it reveals that men think women have to earn their equality—rather than that they deserve it. Even in Vietnam, women are often not seen as already equal people, but are expected to earn their equality.

Women in South Vietnam

The kind of problems that I described in the North are probably not the same in the South, where it seems that different dynamics have produced a greater consciousness of women's liberation. I was not in the South, but it is clear that there is less distinction there between the military front and the rear guard; one doesn't talk about the women doing the jobs left behind. Women have been more involved in fighting on a day-to-day level, and frequently have the responsibility of liberating certain villages and of setting up new governments in border areas, thus playing a crucial role.

This difference is also reflected in the Paris peace talks, where Madame Binh is head of the PRG delegation and several of the people immediately under her are also women. She seems to represent a women's power base and is not simply the exceptional woman who got put into that role. Similarly at the summit conference of Indochinese peoples attended by the top leaders of the liberation forces

in Laos, Cambodia, South Vietnam, and the DRV, the only delegation that included women was the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam. These facts suggest that the power base that women have developed in the South is very strong and much more liberation-conscious than that of the North.

In Paris, we sensed this consciousness, while meeting with a woman from the PRG delegation under Madame Binh. Her interpreter was a man who did not seem to be up-tight about performing a supportive role to a woman official. (J am not sure that many men in the U.S. would be able to do this so easily.) The delegate frequently looked at me and talked to me, with the respect most officials tend to reserve for men. At the end of our conversation, she gave me some buttons from the women in the South and said that she was sorry that we did not have time to talk about the United States' women's struggle. She went on to say that women in the South had been taking power, and that they know that there is another struggle when the war is over and are quite prepared for it. She expressed1' great solidarity with the women in the U.S. in their struggles. No conversation we had with women in the North reflected that same level of consciousness of women's fight after the war. This does not mean that no women in the North could be thinking that way, but none that we met expressed an awareness of future struggle.

Though it is pure speculation on my part, I would suggest a couple of reasons for the differences between North and South Vietnamese women. One, obviously, is the war. The fighting in the South has clearly and directly involved every person daily in the struggle for liberation. The other reason may be, oddly enough, that a cohesive Party, has not existed in the South for as long as it has in the North, which has made it necessary for the women in the South to struggle for their liberation directly rather than to be liberated by some other male-dominated force, such as the Party. The women in the South have had to respond to the war on their own and have not identified their whole consciousness with the Party. They have thus developed through active struggle a consciousness of liberation as Vietnamese and as women. Most of the women in the North struggled for their own liberation from the beginning

through the Party, so the influence of that force which has awakened them is very great and similar to the situation in China. It seems to have made the women more willing to put their own power at a lower priority. It should be clear, however, that the Party in the North has done much to advance women's situation and has provided the means by which the women have begun their struggle for liberation.

Finally, the most important thing that the women of Vietnam communicated to us was that they understood that their lives were significant, not for individual glory but for what they had to contribute to the struggled of all people. They realized that they had a job to do in their country for its survival and that it mattered what they did with their lives; they were not purposeless or alienated from doing very hard work because it had meaning for them. While they still face many problems in their own struggle for liberation, they have moved from a state of servitude to one of vital participation in a short time, and they face the future with confidence in their struggle.

This confidence carried over in their feeling of solidarity with women around the world who are engaged in struggle. They believe that together, within our different contexts, women could change the course of history for the benefit of all people. This confidence was eloquently expressed by a quiet Buddhist nun in Vinh City who told us that she had waited for years to meet women from the U.S., in order to tell us about her experiences during the war. She was sure that if women in the U.S. understood what was happening in Vietnam, they would stop it; they would find a way to stop the madness of their country throughout the world. The women in Vietnam, North and South, believe that women could change the world, that we in the U.S. were part of that process. We left wondering, do we really believe that? Can we begin to fulfill that confidence in our own struggles which the women of Vietnam inspired us to see?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The article on China was based on a long paper having 125 references. The full bibliography is available from Charlotte Bunch-

Weeks, c/o IPS, 1520 New Hampshire Avenue NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. The following periodicals and books provide a good basic background on China which includes the status of women.

Periodicals

Survey of China Mainland Publications—translations by U.S. Consulate General. Hong Kong: June 1959. Daily run of Chinese Communist press; very helpful for overall CCP viewpoints and changes.

Women of China, 1956-65. Official propaganda organ of

Women's Federation.

China Quarterly. Hsia, C.T. "Residual Femininity: Women in Chinese Communist Fiction," January-March 1963, pp. 158-179.

Books

beldon, jack. China Shakes the World. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.

cusack, dymphna. Chinese Women Speak. Australia: Angus

& Robertson, 1958.

hinton, William. Fanshen. New York: Random House, 1966.

snow, edgar. The Other Side of the River: Red China Today.

New York: Random House, 1961.

soong ching-ling (Madame Sun Yat-sen). The Struggle for New China. Peking: Foreign Language Press, 1953. Her speeches over many years.

ward, barbara. Women in New Asia. Netherlands: UNESCO, 1963.

yang, c.k. The Chinese Family in the Communist Revolution. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1959.

On Cuban Women

CHRIS CAMARANO

I would not accept, before or after, a fake doctrine. For in my own case—and I speak very personally, cofnpanera—for me, being a communist isn't belonging to a party. For me, being a communist is having an attitude toward life.

—Haydee Santamaria
July 13, 1967

This article deals with some observations on the progress of Cuba's "revolution within the revolution," the liberation of Cuban women. As a returned member of the first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade, I have come to feel, on a real level, the need for internationalism in the women's movement, as in all revolutionary movements. Most especially, it is important for us to try to understand what lessons there are for us in the continuing struggles of women already living in a revolutionary society. The changes in the quality of their lives, the recurring pitfalls, the necessity for a constant offensive against material and attitudinal underdevelopment—all of these have meaning for us because they speak directly to our own oppression and to* the possibilities of our throwing it off. There is, of course, an organic connection between the liberation of Cuban women, their sense of solidarity with revolutionary women all over the world (especially Vietnamese women), and the attempt to systematically destroy racism in Cuba; however, in an article this limited in length, the discussion of Cuban women must go on somejvhat in isolation from discussion of these integral relationships.

The main questions which seem to arise are these: What does the elimination of the material base of women's oppression and exploitation mean? What de facto changes does it produce (e.g., changes in family structure and in

the concept of bourgeois love)? What is the relationship between work exigencies and these changes? And, what stubborn, aspects' of women's oppression require special and constant attention or "cultural guerrilla activity"?

The oppression of women, like all other political circumstances, is a comprehensive yet amorphous thing which can only be understood within situational boundaries. The special circumstances governing the oppression of pre-revolutionary Cuban women were the 60-year colonization and general rape of the Cuban island by the United States, the occupation by the Spanish for centuries before that, the preponderance of Roman Catholic values, and the matriarchal Latin tradition. The most significant of these was the character of U. S. capitalism the remnants of which remain visible in every part of Cuba today—the old U. S. billboards ("DRINK PEPSI"), which now proclaim "Como en Vietnam" or "Hasta la Victoria Siempre"; the DuPont mansion, which is now a restaurant; the mansions of wealthy Americans in Havana, which now house scholarship students. Perhaps the most lethal U. S. legacy was the divisive and exploitive racism and chauvinism sponsored by and necessary for the successful profiteering of American businesses down Latin America way.

In the years before the revolution, 70-80 percent of Cuban imports came from the U. S., and 90 percent of her exports went there. During the period 1950-1960, the balance of payments favorable to the U. S. was one billion dollars without taking into account the hundreds of millions of dollars that were extracted from the treasury of the country by the corrupt officials of the U.S.-dominated tyranny, and which were later deposited in American and European banks. Six hundred thousand people or ten percent of the population were permanently unemployed (as many, proportionately, as were unemployed in the U. S. during the great depression).

Figures released by the Batista dictatorship in 1958 show that "only 17 percent of our female population—343,000 women—are working. Twenty-three percent or 464,000 women are looking for work." The census listed 1,563,000 women as "housewives," and 25,064 earned their income from begging; 11,500 poor city women prostituted; and poor women in the country worked hard, long and thank-

lessly in the fields and as slaves in the home—producing innumerable children along the way. Middle-class girls were simply handed from male supremacist papa to male supremacist husband. Roman Catholic teachings equated virginity with decency. The unsullied, long-suffering madonna was a prevalent ideal. The tradition of machismo supported the double standard and sexual objectification of women. The Cuban matriarchal tradition, rooted in poverty and slavery, gave rise to what Elizabeth Sutherland, in her book The Youngest Revolution: A Personal Report from Cuba calls "the Martyred Mother and the Gritty Grandmother, two formidable figures." All in all, Cuban women seem to have had a better-defined and more aggressive personality than the white Western female coming out of a patriarchal culture. At the same time, however, male supremacy was rampant and the basic subordination of women to men was absolute in Cuba.

Yet, for all the particular earmarks of Cuban women's oppression, the more universal characteristics of both internalized oppressive attitudes and enforced oppressive routines were at work. Women were defined, and defined themselves, in terms of their relationships to men. Women were taught to value above all the institutions of marriage, nuclear family, female chastity and monogamy. They were owned, privatized, ensconced in the home, isolated from each other, from the means of production, and from the mainstream of society. They were taught to live vicariously and understand that vicarious life was their naturally determined state. They were taught to cheerfully embrace a condition ranging from slavery to second-class citizenship and to seek, within this context, their only power, identity and security.

The revolution wiped out the system of profits and material rewards which had made racism and chauvinism feasible ways of life. Unemployment, for instance, was no longer a necessary or valuable institution. Instead of chronic unemployment, the nationalized economy demands maximum participation in the labor force. The battle against underdevelopment engages everyone. What does this mean for women?

A large part of woman's exploitation has to do with the fact that her labor in the home is preindustrial and kin-based. This work (which Comrade Lenin pithily described

as "barbarously unproductive, petty, nerve-wracking, stultifying and crushing drudgery") is nontransferable, that is, wages are not received for it, and it is not considered productive in a social or economic sense. This arrangement provides men with what Marx called "the power of disposing of the labor-power of others." In a family situation, this means that a woman's unpaid domestic labor supplements the total number of work-hours purchased by her husband's employer. The boss buys the man, and his housekeeper is thrown in free.

This same unpaid labor, which so resembles serfdom, acts as a buffer to the system in that women act as a reserve marketable labor supply to cushion the economy in times of vacillation. While equal access to jobs outside the home, with equal job security, are preconditions to women's liberation, this in itself is insufficient; as long as work in the home remains a matter of private production and consumption and is the responsibility of women, they will still be oppressed by their participation in unsocialized labor —in fact, they will only carry a double work load. The material base for discrimination against women will only be destroyed when they are free to enter socialized means of production and when, simultaneously* private work in the home becomes not only industrialized, but socialized. Industrialization is, in itself, a neutral force; a capitalist utilization of industrial progress promotes exploitation and dehumanization. In a socialist state, the focus of production would be the liberation of communality. Only in this context can we speak about industrializing and socializing domestic production.

An important question for us is the extent to which the removal of the material base of our exploitation, and the creation of a new material base which supports our economic and social development, will affect the totality of our oppression. We can, to an extent, develop a vision of what a change in the relationship of women to production would entail, and we can temper and add to this by looking at what Communism has meant for the liberation of our Cuban companeras.

As Fidel put it at Santa Clara, "The conditions for the liberation of women, for the full development of women in society, for an authentic equality of women with men in society, require a material base;... we must have thousands

of children's day nurseries, hundreds of primary boarding schools, thousands of school dining halls, hundreds of workers' dining halls, thousands of centers of social services of this type must be set up." He goes on to describe the areas which must be expanded to enable women to enter the labor force: coffee-growing plans, reforestation plans, vegetable cultivation, as well as jobs in the cities.

The extent to which these things have been accomplished in Cuba, in only ten years of revolution, is astounding. Extraeconomic forces, notably the Federation of Cuban Women (FMC) work hand in hand with the revolutionary economy to bring women into production and establish institutions necessary for their liberation. The FMC is a mass-base organization whose membership numbers 1,492,-843 (46 percent of Cuban women between fifteen and sixty-five years). It launches mass propaganda and consciousness-raising campaigns to combat the inherited prejudices against women's taking various sorts of jobs. The FMC was set up in 1960 and immediately started to mobilize women. TTiat same year, 90,000 women participated in the country's yearlong mass mobilization against illiteracy. The illiteracy rate was pushed from 37.5 percent of the population down to 3.9 percent—illiteracy was practically squashed in one year.

The concrete results of FMC efforts are visible all over the island. In the universities and schools women study to be dentists, teachers, electrical engineers, refrigerator mechanics and technicians. Fifty percent of all students studying to be doctors are women, as are 30 percent of the engineering students. Women are at work as reporters, book editors, cane-cutters, citrus-fruit packers, tractor drivers, automotive mechanics, city planners and dentists. In 1968, 113,372 women were added to the work force. In one year, women's participation in the sugar industry tripled.

It is not unusual, anywhere on the island, to find important work projects, agricultural plans, schools, hospitals, etc., headed by people in their twenties or early thirties. The average age of Cuban foreign ambassadors is only thirty-three. The chairman of the Department of Philosophy at Havana University is twenty-eight. Many similar posts are held by young women. And there is no hint of tokenism in these appointments. The director of the Hospital of Chivirico is a black woman doctor. The director

of the Antonio Rojas School in the Sierra Maestre is a twenty-four-year-old woman. The director of the Moncada Barracks School is a black woman in her mid-thirties. A veterinary hospital on the Isle of Youth is almost completely staffed by women. There are innumerable women's tractor brigades, coffee-planting brigades, and women's agricultural experiments, like the Banao Plan, whose job it was to develop crops of fruits and vegetables never before grown in Cuba, in this case, asparagus and strawberries. Similarly, all coffee work in Oriente province is administered by the FMC. The militia, a voluntary civilian army, has incorporated a large number of women. Military training in schools is given equally to both girls and boys. As a result, Cuban women are well integrated into the defense of their country.

Political activity (if such a thing can really be spoken about—most Cubans would tell you that "everything is political") is no longer alien to women. They compose half of the Union of Young Communists (UJC), women are accepted political spokesmen in many of the villages and cities, they direct important programs, and frequently deliver keynote speeches at political events. Large numbers of women also do political work within their local CDRs.

Crucial to women's ability to become fully engaged in productive work, in all sectors of society, is the matter of family care. The system of day-care centers (circulos infantiles) has been one of the basic institutions of the revolution. Clementina Serra, head of the National Day-Care Program, is also a member of the Central Committee of the Party. Most towns now have free day-care facilities for children from forty-five days to school age. Modern, well-equipped centers are a part of every new housing community built in Cuba. In some cases, day-care centers are created within a workplace—many factories have them. Day care is often provided in agriculture camps also. At these centers, children are given really comprehensive attention. There are programs of play and learning, three meals and merienda (snacks), as necessary, complete medical and dental care, and all takes place in a genuinely clean, cheerful and generous environment.

The trend is to also involve school-aged children in more comprehensive programs away from home—boarding and semi-live-in situations, where children are engaged in their

own activities, away from home, most of the day. Many Centennial Youth Column (CJC) programs, involving thousands of twelve- to seventeen-year-olds, for instance, combine study, work, and communal living. Kids work on their own projects and are really productive people who have their own sphere of influence, their own business to take care of.

Another aid in decentralizing work usually done by women in the home is a system of workplace eating facilities#. Many working people, especially those working at large plants or factories, are served breakfast, lunch and sometimes dinner at their workplaces. All of these measures serve to shift responsibility for domestic labor from women in the home to the community.

Her liberation is pushed further by additional changes- divorce is free on mutual consent. Contraceptives are free and available without restriction. The most widespread methods are the diaphragm and the anillo, or intrauterine loop. The pill is not considered safe enough for distribution and, because health is not a commodity in Cuba, the pill is not distributed. Abortion is safe, free, legal, and on demand.

Only the most obvious, visible and drastic changes have been mentioned. Clearly, the more subtle, de facto changes springing from these are more difficult to describe or assess. What does it mean, for instance, for a husband and wife to be separated for three or four weeks at a time—one directing a women's tractor brigade, the other living and working at a cane-cutting camp? Not only are many women going out of the house for the first time, but they are away overnight—on guard duty, or away for a semester at the university, or signing up for two years of agricultural service on the Isle of Youth. Women, married and unmarried, away from families and usual settings, are making discoveries about their attitudes toward themselves, about their lives, about their society. In CJC camps, many women are, for the first time, working and living with other women, developing a real sisterhood.

In many ways, without any specific program or campaign, the preconditions for decentralizing the nuclear family are being developed. In capitalist society, the family serves as a primary economic unit. Naturally, the revolution obviated the need for this. Also the alienation of capitalist society produces a need for "protective refuge" which con-

tinually reinforces the position of the family in society. However, as Juliette Mitchell in The Longest Revolution points out, this "refuge" is a fraud:

The belief that the family provides an impregnable enclave of intimacy and security in an atomized and chaotic cosmos assumes the absurd—that the family can be isolated from the community, and that its internal relationships will not reproduce in their own terms the external relationships which dominate the society.

In Cuba, the familial structure also reflects and is a part of the general environment. This environment is not, as in capitalist society, one of fear, isolation and alienation; therefore, the futile, paralyzing idea of family-as-refuge becomes a meaningless concept. The general atmosphere is one in which the exigencies of a new revolutionary country involve all parts of that society in the nonalienating, earnest, overwhelmingly important job of pulling their country out of economic and cultural underdevelopment. There is a strong sense of communality. There are comradely relationships in the extended family, the neighborhood, the town, the province. The deinstitution of exploitation of man by man has released the Cuban potential for the development of a truly national sense of common goal. This, and the fact that, more and more, the workplace, the school, and the commumty are supplanting the home as the center of activity, are the main forces in the gradual de facto decentralization of the nuclear family.

The notion of bourgeois love seems to be taking a beating. Cuban men and women seem to be evolving the idea of a love which grows out of shared struggle. In a society whose whole focus is toward deobjectifying people, their relationships, and their problems, the romantic idea of a "love" which envelopes two people in a kind of private mist, which transcends society, and trips gaily over poverty, ignorance, and meaninglessness, is an absurd notion. Where it is unnecessary to use love as an opiate, there exists the possibility of a kind of love which doesn't have to be transcendental, which has a chance to be honest and realistic.

Yet many contradictions have not been resolved, and the

Cubans are the first to talk about this. Machismo is still alive, if not well. Chauvinism crops up here or there either as overt supremacy or as a patronizing attitude. In many cases, women are unwittingly subverted with left-handed compliments. For instance, an unwarranted fuss might be made over a brigade of women cane-cutters' ability to work up to production—as though it were amazing that they should work so well. A recent article in Granma spoke grandly and enthusiastically of how Cuban women, through their revolutionary efforts, had really earned the title "companera." It is doubtful that there ever was a period during which men were seen as emerging from a similar kind of probationary period during which they "earned" the title "companero"

Women are often seen in a supportive and inspirational role. The Latin archetypes of the tyrannical father and the jealous, domineering, easily enraged husband aren't things of the past. Sometimes the juxtaposition between revolutionary Cuba and vestiges of prerevolutionary days is sharp and harsh—a magazine article about a women's tractor brigade exists side by side with a bikini-clad femme fatale.

Mujeres, a women's magazine, seems to promote a very continental aesthetic—sleek, stylish, slim-nosed, straight-haired. Yet, somehow, although this is somewhat disturbing, in the context of what Cuban women are tangibly about, it is hard to see these fashion articles as a tremendously detrimental force. For one thing, they do not, as in a capitalist society, exist as an invaluable link in the consumer-commodity orientation. They appear, not on a selling level, but on more of an interest or information level. For another, fashion, beauty, etc., seem to be only very peripherally significant to Cuban women—especially in the campo. Women are very far from defining themselves in terms of their appearance or sexual objectivity. Nothing even approaching the American woman's oppressive mania regarding her looks, her youth, her constant self-scrutiny, her agonizing self-consciousness and enforced need to be "beautiful," seems to exist among Cuban women. Evidently, their futures don't depend on their looks.
There are simply more engaging things to be concerned with once the penalties for not being gorgeous have been revoked. More important things for them to be about—the

revolution has a way of making Revlon et ah irrelevant.

But, how to explain the anomalies? In Havana's special school to train women to direct traffic, trainees, in the morning, learn how to handle a gun and even more rugged forms of self-defense. In the afternoon, they have a class in how to apply cosmetics—as though part of a woman's daily routine entailed making a pleasing object of herself.

In trying to understand dichotomies like this, cultural imperialism is always a danger. It is undeniable that the North American movement has developed a complicated aesthetic which it deems the antithesis of "bourgeois," and the aesthetic of many Cuban women might not mesh with this. It is important that we, who are so careful to oppose the bourgeois, avoid the bourgeois preoccupation with appearances which cannot understand that a revolutionary may wear a business suit.

Are certain styles, fabrics, etc., bourgeois? Of course not. Everything occurs in context. The Cuban context governing these things has to do with the fact that for 60 years American tourists and businessmen and their wives, along with a very few Cubans, enjoyed luxuries and services which were totally out of reach for the majority of urban Cuban women, and virtually all of the women of the campo. With the revolution, for the first time, the multiplication and equalization of access to these things was possible, although, ironically, at the same time, the American blockade has systematically tried to minimize the number of available goods.

Our images of the bourgeois, the oppressed person, the intellectual, the revolutionary, developed in the American context, can become stereotyped and ill-suited to export.

Things, possessions, which rate an immed:ate "X". from movement people in the States take on a whole new definition in Cuba. The pantsuit, which in suburbia comes off as fatuous and indulgent because of the privilege it connotes, doesn't strike anything like a sour note when it is made and worn by a companera who has spent the last five or six days in the cane fields or on a coffee plantation. It makes a difference, too, when she wears it to a Saturday night workcamp party attended by everyone from the leadership of the camp to some construction workers who happen to be repairing part of the camp that day. Along the same lines, the chandeliers at the International Which previously hung

over only the fattest of American fat cats, are now totally right-on, because any worker, any student, any peasant in Cuba can vacation there—the place belongs to the people.

The Cuban woman and her position in her revolutionary society cannot be approached rigidly. Context, situation cannot be stressed enough. The broad context is underdevelopment and a history of brutal exploitation. The situation is one in which priorities exist, yet the greatest simultaneity of action in those areas is sought. Women in Cuba have not been told "later for that." Their liberation is a national priority and there is a common understanding that the revolution would be less real in the measure to which women remain oppressed.

Critical U. S. women's liberationists are interested in knowing the degree to which Cuban women see themselves as a group. In talking with Cuban women about this, it becomes clear that they see themselves primarily as Cuban revolutionaries—and incidentally as women.

The reason for this is that the primary identification of oneself as a black, for instance, or consciousness of oneself as a woman, as we know it, arises from a situation where one is specifically oppressed because one is a black or a woman. A preponderant awareness of oneself as a woman and the necessity to think in terms of women-in-league is a reaction to an oppressive society which deems itself the "given," making subverted groups able to define themselves only in terms of their opposition to that "given." It is the need for this definition through opposition that gives the category of woman qua woman a meaning.

For a woman in Cuba to see herself as a Cuban is not for her to somehow deny that she is a woman. She is saying that her being a Cuban woman and a revolutionary frees her to be other things as well—frees her from what Simone de Beauvoir calls her mere "otherness" in regard to the individual male or male-dominated society. Just as men traditionally have been free to see themselves centrally defined by many factors other than their maleness (e.g., in terms of their work, their political selves, their relationships to national and international life), women, in the liberating atmosphere of the revolution, have begun to understand their many selves.

Another important factor in the Cuban women's attitude toward their liberation is their concept of leadership. For

the most part, Cuban women do not see their own interests to be at odds with the interests of the Party or the revolutionary government. On the contrary, there exists, all over the island, among all sectors of the population (except the few former members of the bourgeoisie who remain in Cuba but have not embraced the revolution) a real synonymity of goals. And women's sense of the validity of the country's leadership did not arise in a vacuum. In ten years of revolution, women have seen the revolution deliver the goods.

Whereas self-determination is a prime issue for the U. S. women's liberationists, Cuban women think more in terms of democratic centralism—the sensitive blend of leadership and criticism which is the keynote of Cuban political life. For instance, whereas women in the States might envision a Cuban woman's push for self-determination as consisting of, perhaps, a demand for the immediate instatement of a couple hundred more women Party members, Cuban women would probably see such a "victory" as tokenistic, paternalistic and anti-Communist. No woman would want to be appointed to the Party on liberal grounds—on the basis of her womanhood. While working toward larger female representation in the Party, the Cubans remain wary of approaching problems mechanistically.

A peculiar situation exists. The revolutionary government, the spirit of her sisters, the example of Cuban revolutionary fighters who are women, the entire thrust of the Cuban society, encourages a daughter to defy her reactionary, oppressive parents who want to stifle her with their stay-at-home protectiveness, encourages a wife to defy (or, if necessary, to separate from) the jealous, possessive, chauvinist husband who tries to enclose or crush her. A man who opposes change cannot do so overtly and with everyone's sanction as before; his refusal to move deems him a person to be reckoned with—a Counterrevolutionary in a revolutionary society.

In summary: Looking at the struggle of Cuban women, we see that the primary liberating step was the destruction of an exploitive political system which sponsored both racism and chauvinism. There followed the creation of a material base which deinstitutionalized male chauvinism and initiated a continuing drive to assimilate women into the work force. Hand in hand with this went the measures

necessary to socialize domestic work. These changes produced obvious, legislated, immediate effects, but also more subtle, long-range, de facto effects. These revolutionary changes did not immediately decolonize attitudes and values. As Edmundo Desnoes, the Cuban author, put it, "We know that it is not enough to transform the production relations; that in ideology, customs, in the superstructure, we can go on being bourgeois and reactionary." Understanding this, full-scale propaganda and consciousness-raising wars have been and must continue to be waged to revolutionize the political understanding of women who have a nonstruggle attitude toward their own oppression, and men who are either oblivious to, or deeply entrenched in, male chauvinism.

Hasta la victoria siempre! VenceremosI

Bibliography

MAGAZINES

JOURNALS

aphra

Box 355

Springtown, Pennsylvania
18081

Exploration of and by women via fiction, poetry, drama and forms yet to emerge

women: A Journal of Liberation

3028 Greenmount Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21218
5 issues/yr. a theme/issue

up from under

339 Lafayette
New York, New York
10012

Politics of personal experience

tooth & nail

P. O. Box 4137
Berkeley, California 94704

the ladder

Box 5025 Washington

Station
Reno, Nevada 89503
Originally for lesbians. With August/September/1970 is liberation of all women including lesbians; has fiction, poetry, current events, reviews, and criticism

feelings

Women's Liberation #1
243 Baltic Street
Brooklyn, New York 11201

radical feminism

P. O. Box AA
Old Chelsea Station
New York, New York
10011
Notes from the
First Year $1
Second Year $1.50

a feminist journal

509 East 5th Street
New York, New York
10009

a journal of female libera-
tion

16 Lexington Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

muthah
c/o C. Saed
1420 22nd Street
Sacramento, California
95816

feminist studies
294 Riverside Drive
New York, New York
10025

southern journal of female liberation

Southern Female Rights Union

Box 30087 Lafayette Square Station

New Orleans, Louisiana ♦ 70130

NEWSPAPERS

ain't i a woman

WLF Publications Collective

301 Jefferson Building
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

everywoman

6516 West 83rd Street
Los Angeles, California 90045

it ain't me babe

P. O. Box 6323
Albany, California 94706

akamai sister

Hawaii Women's Liberation
P. O. Box 11042
Honolulu, Hawaii 96814

connecticut valley newsletter

Women's Liberation
207 Hampshire House
Amherst, Massachusetts 01002

off our backs

A Women's Newsjournal
2318 Ashmead Place, NW
Washington, D. C. 20009

and ain't i a woman

Women's Liberation Seattle
5224 19th NE
Seattle, Washington 98105
Wants articles and announcements

female liberation news-

letter

P. O. Box 14061
University Station
Minneapolis, Minnesota

55414
Ph.: 612 378-1183

new women

P. O. Box 24202
Fort Lauderdale, Florida
33307

now acts

328 West 12th Street
New York, New York

10014
Ph.: 212 929-8250
National newsletter of NOW

now Chapter Newsletter
700 Penn Center Boulevard
Apt. 207

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
15235

now L.A. Newsletter
c/o Lenore Youngman
1748 Griffith Park Boule-
vard

Los Angeles, California
90025

pandora's box
P. O. Box 22094
San Diego, California
92122

THE PEDESTAL

Vancouver Women's Caucus
307 West Broadway
Vancouver, B. C. 10
Ph.: 604 879-9722
Monthly; wants articles

R.A.T.

' 241 East 14th Street
New York, New York
10003

Ph.: 212 228-4460 or 4470
Every two weeks

PISSED OFF PINK

1404 East Oakland
Lansing, Michigan

RED STAR

Red Woman's Detachment
700 East 9th Street
New York, New York
10009

SHREW

127 Lower Marsh
London SE 1, ENGLAND

RISING UP ANGRY

3746 Merchandise Mart
Chicago, Illinois 60654

SOCIALIST WOMEN
16 Ella Road
West Bridgeford,
ENGLAND

SPAZM

c/o Murra
2325 Oak Street
Berkeley, California 94708
A personal newsletter was
distributed nationwide and
is wide variety of per-
sonal statements, clippings,
lists of articles

WOMEN'S PAGE NEWSPAPER

1227 37th Avenue
San Francisco, California
94122

L. A. WOMEN'S LIBERATION
NEWSLETTER

Women's Center
1027 South Crenshaw

Boulevard
Los Angeles, California
90019

THE SPOKESWOMAN

Urban Research Corpora-
tion

5464 South Shore Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60615
Ph.: 312 955-3774
Women's news and editor
male corporation

MAVERICK

P. O. Box 77, Agnew Sta-
tion

Santa Clara, California
Has articles on women
each issue

TIMES CHANGE PRESS

1023 Sixth Avenue
New York, New York
10018
Ph.: 212 524-1984
Attn: Su Negrin
Want articles by women
any subject especially wo-
men's liberation, will pay-
amount depends on ma-
terial

THE WELFARE FIGHTER
National Welfare Rights

Organization
1419 H Street NW
Washington, D.C. 20005

women

c/o Turner

2015 Mount Vernon Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
19130

women's liberation inter-
national newsletter
317 Sanchez

San Francisco, California

94114
Ph.: 415 621-7080

women's liberation
newsletter

Box 116

Cambridge, Massachusetts
02138

women: The Majority
Report

P. O. Box 347

La Jolla, California 92037
Unknown if by women

women's monthly
Media Women
Box 1592

New York, New York
10001

women's newspaper

c/o Zaft

37 Warriner Avenue
Springfield, Massachusetts
01108

women speak out

1376 Hollister Road
Cleveland Heights, Ohio
44118

The above is a partial listing. For further information about
organizations write for: Mushroom Effect, P. O. Box 6024

Albany, Calif. 94706.

Biggest dictionary value
ever offered in paperback!

The Dell paperback edition of

THE AMERICAN HERITAGE
DICTIONARY

OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

•Largest number of entries—55,000

• 832 pages—nearly 500 illustrations

• The only paperback dictionary with photographs

These special features make this new, modern dictionary clearly superior to any comparable paperback dictionary:

• More entries and more illustrations than any other paperback dictionary

• The first paperback dictionary with photographs

• Words defined in modern-day language that is clear and precise

• Over one hundred notes on usage with more factual information than any comparable paperback dictionary

• Unique appendix of Indo-European roots

• Authoritative definitions of new words from science and technology

• More than one hundred illustrative quotations from Shakespeare to Salinger, Spenser to Sontag

• Hundreds of geographic and biographical entries

• Pictures of all the Presidents of the United States

• Locator maps for all the countries of the world

A DELL BOOK 75c

If you cannot obtain copies of this title from your local bookseller just send the price (plus 15c per copy for handling and postage) to Dell Books, Post Office Box 1000, Pinebrook, N. J. 07058. No postage or handling charge is required on any order of five or more books.

5;
§

I

§5

if you cannot obtain copies of this title from your local bookseller, just
cpnd the orice (plus 15c per copy for handling and postage) to Dell Books,
Post Office Box 1000, Pinebrook, N. J. 07058. No postage or handling charge
is required on any order of five or more books.

I 4

o
o

LIBERATED WOMEN SPEAK OUT...

AMERICAN VALUES

"We should never admire the women in Vogue,
because there is something undeniably ugly about
women who wear minks while others can't afford
shoes—and no amount of $20-an-ounce makeup
can hide that brand of ugliness."

THE FAMILY

"Women's lib is not trying to destroy the . . .
family. A look at the statistics on divorce—plus the
way in which old people are farmed out and young
people flee the home—shows the destruction has
already been done. Liberated women are just try-
ing to point out the disaster, and build compas-
sionate and practical alternatives from the ruins."

HOUSEWORK

"Whatever the economic value of the domes-
tic industry of women is, they do not get it. The
women who do the most work, get the least money,
and the women who have the most money do the
least work."

CONSCIOUSNESS

"The heart of the movement... rests in women's
knowledge, whether articulated or still only an
illness wifhout a name, that they are not inferior—
not chicks, nor bunnies, nor quail, nor cows, nor
bitches, nor ass, nor meat."

PROFESSIONAL WOMEN

"If they are vital and assertive, they are rejected
as'aggressive bitches out to castrate men.' If they
are auiet and unassuming, they are rejected as
'unlikely to amount to much.' "

This book is a preservation facsimile produced for
the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.
It is made in compliance with copyright law
and produced on acid-free archival
60# book weight paper
which meets the requirements of
ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992 (permanence of paper).

Preservation facsimile printing and binding
by

Northern Micrographics
Brookhaven Bindery
La Crosse, Wisconsin
2015